Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

INDIAN COUNCIL
FOR
CULTURAL RELATIONS
NEW DELHI

Accession No._____

Call No._____

V-07

901.920954/GHO
16600
GHOSH, OROON
KUMAR.

ing

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# DATE DUE

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the date last stamped below.

V-10

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# THE CHANGING INDIAN CIVILIZATION
## VOL. II

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# THE CHANGING INDIAN CIVILIZATION

## (A PERSPECTIVE ON INDIA)

VOL. II

ICCR LIBRARY
E16600

*Sa vidya ya vimuktaye*
— That is knowledge which liberates

OROON KUMAR GHOSH
F.R.A.S. (London)
MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL
SOCIETY FOR THE COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF CIVILIZATIONS

INDIA

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

MINERVA ASSOCIATES (PUBLICATIONS) PVT. LTD.
7-P Lake Place, Calcutta-700 029 : INDIA

© Oroon Kumar Ghosh, 1976
First Published : September, 1976
ISBN : 0-88386-836-9

909.0954
GHO

PRINTED IN INDIA BY TAPAN KUMAR BARIK FROM AJANTA PRINTERS, 4/2, RAMMOHAN ROY ROAD, CALCUTTA-700 009 AND PUBLISHED BY T. K. MUKHERJEE FOR AND ON BEHALF OF MINERVA ASSOCIATES (PUBLICATIONS) PVT. LTD., 7-B LAKE PLACE, CALCUTTA-700 029, INDIA.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

TO

THE YOUTH OF INDIA

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

96-A

901.920954
Gtto
16600

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# PREFACE

THIS BOOK DEALS with change in Indian Civilization right from the earliest times to the present day, against the world back-drop. Vol. I dealt with 'General Considerations' (Part I, about 3 per cent of the book) ; the 'Era of Primitive Similarity'—from Food Gatherers to the Aryans (Part II, about 13 per cent of the book); and the 'Era of Theocratic Divergence'—Indus Valley Civilization, Aryo-Hindus, Buddhists, Indo-Muslims, Marathas, Sikhs (Part III, about 36 per cent of the book). The present volume, about half the book, constitutes Part IV. The chapters are in a running series from Vol. I.

Part IV, the Era of World Convergence, deals mainly with the interaction with West Europe. About two-thirds of this, that is to say about 32 per cent of the whole book, deals with the rise of West Europe, the impact of "Bourgeois" Britain and "Modern Britain" on India, and how we became "Quasi-Bourgeois" and "Quasi Modern". The remaining one-third, that is to say, sixteen per cent of the book, is concerned with "problems of accelerating India's pace to modernisation". The suggestions given in this regard (chapters 36—40) are not *obiter dicta,* but are the outcome of a rigorous process of civilizational analysis on the comparative civilization method, and they almost force themselves on us (chapters 30 and 33—35). They are preceeded by two chapters (27 and 28), where the threads of the earlier chapters are gathered—the Pan-Indian and Regional pictures of change in Indian civilization ; one (chapter 29), dealing with change in food, drink and women's dress ; and two (chapters 31 and 32) with some important myths of Indian history and two important myths of world history—"East and West" and "National Characters".

Europe went through six reformations and revolutions, spread out over 400 years—Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution, Humanism, Enlightenment and the Agricultural-Industrial Revolution, to modernise itself,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



We will have to do likewise, and telescope them within a 200 years ago but has been very slow.

The author believes that a comparative study of civilizations will help us in the transformations. The author believes in the Stage of Civilization theory ; in each stage having its own Consciousness and Values and Institutions (in all functional fields—Science and Technology, Economics, Politics, Administration, Military Affairs, Social Relations, Ideology, the Arts, Architecture, Literature) based on its Dominant Economics ; in Stages cutting across national boundaries, the national flavour being provided by "folk elements" like ethnic mix, language, dwelling types, clothes material and styles, culinary traditions, certain manners, customs, etiquette etc. which are relatively permanent ; in Stage and other changes being brought about by Progressives fighting against Conservatives ; on the possibility of changes being planned or induced in the desired direction by the operation of certain Key Forces, potential or actual—geography, natural resources, geopolitics or external forces, internal class-relations and weight of tradition, which constitute "Configurational Dynamics".

These propositions, constituting the "civilizational analysis" mentioned earlier, have been explained and applied in Vol. I, with plentiful citations of foreign parallels. The same methods of civilizational analysis are followed in this volume.

There is a sequal to this book—"The Modernization of India", which has also been completed, and which is expected to be out shortly. In this forthcoming book the suggestions contained in chapters 36—40 of the present volume are amplified and dealt with fully. There is also an appendix therein dealing with the author's personal views on what he means by the term "Scientific Vedanta", used in certain chapters of this volume.

The author would like to repeat the special thanks he made in Vol. I to Sardar Jasbir Singh, Shri Visharad Kumar, Mrs Chandra Kumbnani (nee Sadhwani), Shri P. Govindan, Shri M. G. Narayan, Mrs Anita D'Souza and Miss Rita D'Mello, for all their assistance. Miss D'Mellow's

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



questionings forced a certain modification in style, for the better, and to the conception of the quiz-like chapter 31.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my friend and colleague, Shri Sushil Mukherjea, Chairman of Minerva Associates (Publications) Private Ltd., for all his goodness and help in the matter of the publication of this book.

5, Russell Street,
Calcutta.
7th September, 1976.

Oroon Kumar Ghosh

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## PART IV: THE ERA OF WORLD CONVERGENCE


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | PREFACE .. .. .. | VII |
| *Chapter 23* | Rise of West European Theo-Mercantile .. .. .. | 3 |
| *Chapter 24* | Stage 8B—Interaction of Indian Theo-Aristocratic with Foreign Theo-Mercantile Societies | 19 |
| *Chapter 25* | Stage 9—Interaction with West European (British) Rational Mercantile .. .. | 26 |
| *Chapter 26* | Stage 10—Interaction with West European (British) Scientific-Democratic: 1857 to 1947 .. .. .. | 93 |
| *Chapter 27* | Change in Indian Civilization—The Pan-Indian Picture .. .. .. | 270 |
| *Chapter 28* | Change in Indian Civilization—The Regional Pictures .. .. .. | 286 |
| *Chapter 29* | Change in Food, Drink and Women's Dress .. .. .. | 319 |
| *Chapter 30* | The Harbingers of Change .. .. | 332 |
| *Chapter 31* | Some Important Myths of Indian History .. .. .. | 340 |
| *Chapter 32* | Two Important Myths of World History: "East and West"/"National Character" | 352 |
| *Chapter 33* | Civilizationology—The Science of Change | 358 |
| *Chapter 34* | The Convergence of Civilizations .. | 362 |
| *Chapter 35* | The Emerging World of Tomorrow and our Role in it .. .. .. | 368 |
| *Chapter 36* | Scientific, Technological and Economic Transformations: The Nehru-Mahalanobis Model .. .. .. | 377 |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Chapter 37* Political, Administrative, Defence and Social Transformation .. .. .. 383

*Chapter 38* Cultural and Ideological Transformation 393

*Chapter 39* Religious Transformation .. .. .. 396

*Chapter 40* Awakening Kumbha Karna—The sleeping giant .. .. .. 402

REFERENCES .. .. .. 413

INDEX .. .. .. 422

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# PART FOUR

# THE ERA OF WORLD CONVERGENCE

A. INTERACTION WITH WEST EUROPE—PORTUGUESE THEO-MERCANTILE/BRITISH RATIONAL-MERCANTILE AND SCIENTIFIC-DEMOCRATIC

B. PROBLEMS OF ACCELERATING INDIA'S PATH TO MODERNIZATION

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 23

# RISE OF WEST EUROPEAN THEO-MERCANTILE

## A—General

Several West European societies have been identified in Chapter 2. (Vol. 1). To recapitulate, they are :

(i) First West European Theo-Mercantile 16th to 4th century B.C.

(ii) West European Theo-Aristocratic ("Medieval") 5th to 19th century A.D.

(iii) Second West European Theo-Mercantile 8th to 17th century A.D.

(iv) West European Rational-Mercantile 15th to 20th century A.D.

(v) West European Scientific-Democratic 17th century A.D. onwards.

The first three will be dealt with in this chapter. The Cretan Theo-Mercantile (26th century B.C. to 12th century B.C.) will be analysed before such treatment as it affected the navigational techniques, science and technology and the arts of West Europe through the mercantile Greeks, who settled in various parts of West Europe—Italy, South France and elsewhere.

## The Cretan Theo-Mercantile

(i) *Life Course*: Archaeologists distinguish three periods in the life course of this civilization. The first, 2500-2100 B.C., is known as the Early Minoan. In the second, Middle Minoan, 2100-1500 B.C., was built, among other things, the palace of Knossos, excavated by Sir Arthur Evans. The Bronze-using warrior Achaean or Mycenaean Greeks ruled over this society in its third phase—Late Minoan (1400-1100 B.C.), when its civilization spread to Mainland Greece (Mycenae). The iron-using warriors, the Dorians, then destroyed it and incorporated it in the Greek world.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



(ii) *Configurational Dynamics*: (a) *Geography*—This society serviced Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean littoral, specially the former. The sea all around made its men sailors and traders. (b) *Technics*—The challenge of the seas led to several navigational improvements, as we shall see. As it was very much of a trading society it also reached, as we shall also see, a high degree of excellence in arts and crafts. (c) *External Relations*—External relations played a crucial part in Cretan society. Matrifocal agriculturists from Anatolia, Syria, Libya and Egypt first won Crete for the farming way of life. Then came early technologists, along with traders. The whole of the Aegean became a great trading area, full of sailors and craftsmen.[1] There was a special relationship with Egypt. The Early Minoan came into existence, with its coastal trading and arts-and-crafts towns like Palaikastro, Pseira, Mekhlos, Gournia etc. along with the Egyptian IVth dynasty. Decay came with the fall of the Old Kingdom, and revival, the Middle Minoan period, from 2100 B.C. to about 1500 B.C., corresponding with the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. Then there was violent destruction of the defenceless cities by the Greek-speaking warrior nomad Mycenaeans, round about 1400 B.C. Revival, under the Mycenaeans (Late Minoan) corresponded with the Egyptian New Kingdom. The savage Dorian Greeks destroyed this civilization round about the 11th century B.C. (d) *Internal Relations*—There was pre-eminence of women (from matrifocal agriculturist days) from about 2500 B.C. till the Dorian conquest. It was a trading society, full of sailors and craftsmen, in a matrifocal environment. There was no central mart, no Theo-Technocracy with its despotism and ritually ordained tastes. Crete had, on the other hand, to deal with many princes of many lands, with differing tastes.[2] The competitive spirit was, therefore, given full play, leading to the highest excellence in articles of export like vases, frescoes, figurines and jewellery. (e) *Tradition*—The martrifocal neolithic tradition led to feminine pre-eminence and a lack of defence-consciousness.

(iii) *Values and Achievements*: (a) *Science and technology*—The Cretans made many improvements in shipping

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



design, lengthening the hull, adding a ram, raising high masts, and inventing tackle and rigging for manipulating the sails. Crete, by legend, was the home of Icarus, for whom and for himself, his father Daedalus, the inventor, made wings so that both could fly—a legend, but enshrining the technical bent of this society. Its technical achievements were indeed many apart from naval design—harbours, bridges, roads, new building techniques, a new column design, tapering from top downwards, hydraulic engineering, core-casting. The free mind had great scope, evidently, for inventiveness. (b) *Economics*—It was a farming, but basically trading society, as already discussed. (c) and (d) *Social Relations/Politics/Defence etc.*—Women were pre-eminent. The rulers were probably the priestesses, until the conquest by the patriarchal Greeks, when came the Mycenaean—Minoan "thalassocrats", the bull-mask wearing "Monos"-es of the still later Greek (Dorian) invaders. The frescoes show women working and playing freely with men, even in bull-leaping.

The neolithic-feminine influence led to a lack of defence-consciousness and so to conquests by Greek Mainlanders. The Mycenaean warrior-nomad conquest is enshrined in the legend of Theseus, of Ariadne, and of Minos in his labyrinthine palace. (The legend finds excellent treatment in the novel of Mary Renault—*The King must die*). (e) *Ideology*—The ideology remained basically the fertility religion of the matrifocal period, with the tree cult, and the Lady of the Beasts, with subordinate male deities, goddesses with young consorts, snake goddesses, snake-worship, bull-leaping, bull-sacrifices etc. The cults of Demeter and Persephone, the agricultural Eleusinian mysteries and the orgiastic Dionysian cults also originated in Crete.[3] (f) *Culture*—Feminine influence is apparent in the delicate egg-shell wares, especially the Kamares ware, the delicate colours, decorative frescoes, and the small scale ivory and bronzes—which were easier to transport too. According to Jacquetta Hawkes, the Cretan was "one of the most graceful civilizations man has ever achieved."[4]

Dressed in flounced skirts, the bosom bare, the waist thin, with different kinds of hats, the Cretan ladies por-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



trayed in the frescoes looked to a French archaeologist in 1900 like French beauties (*Mais, ce sont des Parisiennes*). Homer reflected the memory of this soft civilization on the island in the "wine-dark sea" in the person of Nausicaa, whom Odysseus found so delightful.

(iv) *Legacies*: This civilization spread to Mainland Greece, and the Eastern Mediterranean. It was a parent of the Athenian, and through the Athenian Greeks of Rome and West Europe. Its main legacies were—naval design and engineering, naval technology, an inclination for mechanics, and an elegance, all of which left their indelible stamp on West Europe. An invisible legacy, of still higher worth, was that of the free spirit, and of competition, without the tyranny of theocratic dogma.

## The Peopling of West Europe[5]

Five groups of people came to the Europe of food-gatherers and advanced hunters, from outside, from 4000 B.C.

First, from the East Mediterranean and Anatolia, Danubian peasant-farmers and cow-keepers with their impressed ware pottery and mother-goddess figurines. These included the Tulip Beaker or Funnel Beaker folk. They moved up the Danube for 1500 years.

Second, from about 2500 B.C., matrifocal-neolithic traders from the Eastern Mediterranean (Malta) with the megalith and the Earth Mother cult, builders of neolithic Stonehenge (1900-1700 B.C., the bronze circle was added later in 1500 B.C.) and the painted frescoes in the chambered tombs of Morbihan.

Third, fighting traders, originally from the Eastern Mediterranean, prospectors of copper and bronze (early technologists). They spread over Europe from Iberia from 2300 B.C., exploiting the surface ores. They had defended settlements like Los Milares (Almeria) and Vilanova de San Pedro (near Lisbon), wherein we find primitive axes and knives and mother-goddess figurines. These fighting traders, like the Cretans, serviced West Asia and Egypt, then much more advanced than Europe.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Fourth, a similar group from Iberia, from 1800 B.C., in search of Irish and Scottish gold. They were also traders and prospectors (early technologists) with the megalithic mother-goddess religion. They were also armed, and they also serviced West Asia and Egypt. Both these two groups of fighting traders worshipped the mother-goddess, a good preparation for the worship of the Virgin Mary.

Fifth, also from about 1800 B.C., out of the Eurasian steppes, warriors in large numbers, Indo-European speaking, with corded ware and battle-axe with median ridge, (Corded-Ware Battle-Axe people) streamed in. Their tumulus or barrow burials give evidence of cereals. The horse was still too small, and used mainly for draught purposes. They set themselves up as overlords everywhere and their graves are full of arms of the same pattern as at Chertomlyk (4th millennium B.C.) and Maikop (3rd millennium B.C.).

Thus Europe had a varied population—advanced hunters, peasants, peaceful traders, fighting traders, technologists, warrior aristocrats; and presumably priests as well, but not too many of them. It was also full of minerals—copper and tin ores—and many rivers and bays and so excellently endowed for trading.

### First West European Theo-Mercantile[6]

(i) *Life Course*: The first "high civilization" of West Europe was a theo-mercantile one. Four phases can be discerned—(a) High Bronze Cultures 1500-1300 B.C. (b) Urn-field metallurgical culture 1300-700 B.C. (c) Hallstalt culture of the Celts 700-450 B.C. (d) La Tene culture of the Celts, with its flamboyant art and its Druid priests.

(ii) *Configurational Dynamics*: (a) *External Relations*—The traders and technologists of West Europe began to trade, from 1600 B.C., with the warrior-aristocrats of Mycenae, exporting metals and amber from the Baltic, "magic" amber, which had electric properties. Along the Amber Route from the Baltic coast to the South *via* the Brenner pass, studded with mines, as well as from England and Ireland, whence also metals came, native bronze

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



cultures grew up—West Baltic/Amorican/Wessex/the Boyne/Laubingen/Unetice (Aujenitz)/South German (Baden)/Middle Danubian—Carpathian. From this developed the Urnfield Metallurgical Culture (1300-700 B.C.), the Hallstalt culture of the Celts (700-450 B.C.) and the La Tene culture, from 450 B.C.

This West European Theo-Mercantile civilization was snuffed out by the relentless pressure of the Theo-Aristocratic Romans. (b) *Internal Relations*—The rulers were first the Corded-Ware Battle-Axe people, as the rich grave goods of the barrows of the chieftains indicate. Then the people of the cut-and-thrust sword, invented in Central Europe; and finally, the people with the slashing swords. All these peoples were descendants of pastoral warriors. These rulers and the fighting traders and technologists all worked in unison for the common gain. (c) *Technology*—Divided by many rivers and mountains, Europe was politically parcelled out under many rulers. The smiths of Europe manufactured custom-made goods for these many chieftains, instead of standardized ones for a few monarchs and their priests and noblemen, as in West Asia and Egypt. This whetted inventiveness and ingenuity to an exceptional degree.[7] (d) *Burden of the Past*—Nil. Europe had escaped the conditions leading to river-valley theocratic despotisms, and hence the tyranny of dogma, which impedes progress.

(iii) *Main Creations*: *'Theo'*—not known, can be inferred from the existence of Druidism in the last phase. *Mercantile*—Many *objets d'art*, for aristocratic rulers, and for export. The Danish slashing swords have the Mycenaean spiral influence; exquisite vessels and bronze trumpets (*lurs*) of the Danish Bronze, 10th-9th century B.C., may be particularly noted. The rich art of Hallstalt, the flamboyant art of La Tene.

(iv) *Conclusions*: In this first "high" civilization of West Europe we see the technology, the trading and the elegance of objects which we found in Crete. But there is something else in addition—a fierce, warlike quality. And all flow from the geography of West Europe, Greece on a larger scale and very much richer; its trading configuration

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



vis-a-vis the then much more advanced South Europe; and the nature and the traditions of the various types of people which came to people it.

## West European Theo-Aristocratic ("Mediaeval")

(i) *Life Course/Values and Achievements*: The Life Course and the main Values and Achievements of the West European Theo-Aristocratic ("Mediaeval") can be presented in tabloid form as follows:—

| I *Early* | II *Middle* | III *Zenith* | IV *Late* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Birth of a tradition 5th-8th centuries A. D. | Its growth 8th-10th centuries. | New formulations / Empire/ Zenith 11th-16th centuries A.D. | Closed Society — Scholasticism. Mysticism. 17th century onwards. |
| ***Aristo*** | | | |
| Dynastic kingdoms — Merovingians, Lombards etc. Feudalism. Heavy cavalry. The manor. | Larger feudal groupings. — Charlemagne. Heptarchy in Britain. Alfred the Great of Britain; Otto the Great of Saxony. | New ideas — Holy Roman empire / Crusades Pope *v* Emperor / Magna Carta Parliament / Nationalism idea under Henry V of England, Joan of Arc, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. | Theory of as the king, so the religion —*cujus regio ejus religio* — breakdown. Thirty years War (1618-48). |
| ***Theo*** | | | |
| Theo Christianisation of West Europe from Rome and Iona. St. Columba/St. Augustine Benedictine rule of poverty, chastity, obedience, prayer and work. | Questioning e.g. John Scotus, Erigena etc. | Reform of monasteries— Cluniacs / Carthusians / Cistercians / Synthesis—St. Thomas Aquinas /Heresies/St. Francis of Assissi. | Mystics— Jakob Boeheme, St. Teresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, Capuchins. Jimenez— Oratory of Divine Love, St. Francis Xavier. |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



| I *Early* | II *Middle* | III *Zenith* | IV *Late* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | ***Science and Technology*** | |
| Heavy moldboard plough/ stirrup / charging with fixed lances. | Learning from Arabs in the medical school of Salerno. | Ribbed vault/ pointed arch/ Flying buttresses / Stained glass, 12th century onwards/ Woodcuts from the 12th C. | |
| | | ***Culture*** | |
| Beowulf / Caldmon/Ven. Bede/the Lindisfarne Gospels. | Romanesque architecture Anglo-Saxon Chronicles/Irish literature —Book of Kells. | Gothic cathedrals / Troubadours / Polyphonic music/ histories/ growth of universities like Paris, Oxford, Cambridge. Dante, Chaucer, Piers Plowman. | Religious music of Palestrina, Bach and Handel. |

(ii) *Configurational Dynamics*: (a) *Mastery over Nature*—The soils of West Europe were water-logged and swampy at the beginning of the 5th century. West Asian methods of cultivating dry land were useless except on chalk and loess soils. New techniques were needed and this was provided by the heavy moldboard plough, which created artificial ridges and hollows, and effected drainage (5th century). By the 10th century this was in general use. Four or more oxen were necessary for drawing the moldboard plough, and this necessitated the pooling of draft animals. Village cultivation thus became a cooperative effort. (b) *Internal Organisation*—To put these innovations into full effect and create a grain surplus a new type of internal organisation was necessary. This was provided by the feudal system, whose economic counterpart was the manor. The collapse of the Roman Empire left the peasants defenceless, as they had no traditions of fighting, like the Germanic tribal war-bands. Lands for defence had to be allotted, therefore, by the Germanic rulers, to suitable fighting men. Such men, the feudal lords, with their retainers, had to come at the summons of the suzerain,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



whenever he needed them. The Germanic tribes were foot-soldiers. The new type of lordly fighter was the heavily armoured cavalryman, the knight, sitting on his stirruped horse, and charging with his lance fixed. The doughty cavalryman resorted to hand-to-hand fighting, and to crushing blows. (In Tennyson's words—The shattering trumpet shrilleth high/the hard brands shiver on the steel/ the splintered spear-shafts crack and fly/the horse and rider reel). To equip himself and fight this way money and long training were necessary. Only lords could afford this. The manorial system made this possible. The knights, living on rents and dues, and with relatively simple tastes, could lead a life of war, romance, carousing and jousts. The system was not peculiar to Europe. For instance, under similar conditions, Iran had developed it under the Parthians (2nd century B.C.). And the Byzantines did so later, independently, under the Macedonian dynasty (9th century A.D.). (c) *External Relations*—With the Arab conquest of the Eastern Mediterranean in the 7th century A.D. trade ties between Europe and the Levant were severed, and this meant lesser importance of merchants and more of warrior-aristocrats. This is Henri Pirenne's famous thesis, which Archibald Lewis has modified by saying that the cause was not so much Arab, as Byzantine mercantile policy. (d) *Burden of Tradition*—The Druidic type of old religions weakened, possibly, partly because of the decline of the supporting wealth of fighting merchants. Newer Germanic ruling war-groups stuck to their older hero-religions. Both, and the burden of past traditions were largely wiped out by the spread of the immensely powerful Christian religion from Rome, using all the forms of Roman imperial organisation, and the awe-inspiring charisma of the language of the Romans—Latin. Christianity increased the importance of the tribal ruler, the Lord's anointed and substituted dynastic loyalty for tribal loyalty. The units for defence and offence became larger, and when sufficiently organised and endowed, splashed across the seas as Crusades.

(iii) *Conclusions*: The 'Mercantile' element of the West European Theo-Mercantile now became relatively weaker, compared to the 'Theo' and 'Aristo' elements. Some

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



scientific and technological advance, indeed of a crucial nature, was still there, because of the large pool of technical expertise. But this did not develop, as it did not in other Theo-Aristocratic cultures, including the Hindu-Indian, all of these being similar in Values and Institutions (cf. Chapter 15).

In India it is assumed that the "West" is materialistic. It was not always so. The "Mediaeval" (Theo-Aristocratic) West was intensely religious. It was full of saints—St. Columba, St. Augustine, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Francis Assissi, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Theresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, St. Francis Xavier and, indeed, many others. The monasteries with their tonsured, disciplined monks observing the Benedictine and Cistercian rules, cleared land, christianised the heathens and spread elements of Roman organisation and culture. But purely West European were the inventions of the ribbed vault, the pointed arch, and the flying buttress, allowing the construction of thinner walls, and so to the building of cathedrals soaring heavenwards, where men and women could sing paeans of glory to the name of God, the Virgin, and Jesus Christ, in the flood of light provided by the long stained glass and rosette windows created by the loving efforts of generations of devout craftsmen.

### The Second West-European Theo-Mercantile

(i) *Origins*: West Europe has great advantages for mercantile activity—indented coastline providing harbours, many navigable rivers, timber, an abundance of metals, specially iron, a very large number of craftsmen. A theo-mercantile civilization had grown up, as we have seen, trading with South Europe and thence, the East Mediterranean countries. This petered out before the Roman Theo-Aristocrats. The geographical and metallurgical advantages remained potential, as on her own (i.e. without the trade necessities of rich areas of the Past like Mycenae, the Levant, Old Egypt, etc.). West European economic life then was comparatively poor. But internal organisational changes led to the full utilisation of technological discoveries like the heavy moldboard plough, leading to a

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



surplus. The Scandinavian sea-men or Vikings ("creek-men") shared in this surplus through piracy. Notable improvements in shipbuilding (e.g. the stern-post rudder) enabled Scandinavian navigators to overcome the terrors of the wind and tide of the treacherous Northern seas. This advantage led to wholesale piracy, and the establishment of piratical towns. From this grew a new Theo-Mercantile civilization, the Second West European Theo-Mercantile.

(ii) *Life Course/Values and Achievements*: As in the case of the West European Theo-Aristocratic, the Life Course, Values and Achievements of the Second West European Theo-Mercantile are presented here in tabloid form.

| *Early* | *Growth* | *Zenith* | *Late* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8th-10th centuries. | 11th-12th centuries. | (New forms/ Expansion) 13th-16th centuries. | (Scholasticism, Mysticism) 17th century onwards |
| | | ***Mercantile-Political*** | |
| Scandinavian navigational improvements lead to piracy, raids and settlements. Pirate cities become trading towns. | Growth of trading towns in Italy by supplying to Crusaders. Importance of Venice. Bank of Venice issues credit bonds. | Hanseatic League— 13th-14th centuries. Italian "Renaissance" cities, based on trade and banking/ Vasco da Gama, 15th century. Columbus —discovery of the New World (1492). Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) Theo - Mercantile Empires abroad. | Breakdown. Wars with Theo-aristocrats. Civil War in England / Huguenot Wars in France / Thirty Years War. |
| | | ***Theo*** | |
| Scandinavians Christianised. | Questioning. Influence of sceptics of the Arabian Theo-Mercantile like Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Moses Maimonides. Albigensian heresy in towns. | New forms of Christianity— Protestantism- Martin Luther/ Calvin. Intellectual form of Roman Catholicism—Jesuits. | Scholasticism- Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Mystics — Quakers, Methodists, Jansenists, Quietists. |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



| *Early* | *Growth* | *Zenith* | *Late* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | ***Intellectual*** | |
| Navigational improvements. | Wind-mills, paper mills. 1145-magnetic compass. | 13th century scientists —Robert Grossetestе, Roger Bacon. Mechanical clock /pivoted magnetic compass/ silk reeling machine / spectacles/block printing / spinning wheel — 12th/ 13th centuries. cannon (1338). Prince Henry the Navigator patronises scientific cartography in Portugual/ Portuguese naval innovations. Trigonometry. Iron cannon balls—15th century. Canal lock, copper etching. Leonardo da Vinci, 15th-16th century. Revolving theatre, 16th century. | |
| | | ***Culture*** | |
| Christian culture in Scandinavia. | Secular studies in universities like Bologna and Padua, influenced by the Arab Theo-Mercantile. | Italian Renaissance painting/ architecture. 1402—Oil painting. Naturalism, Alberti's laws of perspective. Leonardo da Vinci/Michael-angelo. | Milton's *Paradise Lost—Pascal's Pensees.* |

(iii) *Configurational Dynamics*: (a) *Mastery over Nature*—The first great break-through, the stern-post rudder and Scandinavian ship-design, gave the Vikings and their successors the control of even the most treacherous seas. The scientific cartography of the 15th

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



century under Prince Henry the Navigator and Iberian naval innovations gave them the mastery of the seven seas. (b) *Internal Relations*—The trading classes grew up in the shadow of piracy, and were not just peaceful, docile merchants. The pirates of the 9th century became the traders of the 10th, but the same piratical ethos continued. Even when the pirate-traders settled down to prudent ways they continued to arrange their own public affairs and look after their own defences. They also tended to treat peasants and feudal lords alike as potential victims of sharp practice, if longer often of the sword.[8] These merchants ultimately established themselves in towns situated conveniently for trade—near a bishop's seat, or even under the walls of a feudal abbey or castle. Merchants and artisans in Eurasia were primarily caterers to the tastes of their social superiors—officials, landlords, rulers, and were accustomed to taxation and regulation from above, in return for protection. The West European merchants were different. They inherited from their pirate ancestors distinctive characteristics—aggressiveness, ruthlessness, a sense of self-reliance.[9] Allied with kings, they fought barons and their retainers, and this aggressive spirit travelled overseas to found new empires. (c) *External Relations*—Trading along with the Crusaders abroad gave a fillip to the Renaissance towns. To circumvent the Turks, after defeat in the Crusades, in order to obtain spices, there were voyages of discovery. The "New World" was founded (Columbus), routes to the East established (da Gama) and the world circumnavigated (Magellan). (d) *Erosion of Burden of the Past—The First and Second Cultural Revolutions—Renaissance and Reformation*—With increasing trade and contact with the then superior Islamic culture came questioning. In the second phase there was already the influence of the sceptical Averroes, of Moses Maimonides and the Albigensian heresy. In the third phase this spirit blossomed out to the Renaissance and to Religious Reformation—Lutheranism and Calvinism, much patronised by merchants. The "Renaissance" was "new birth", birth out of a study of Comparative Civilization, out of comparing West European Theo-Aristocratic not only with

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the richer Turkish Theo-Aristocratic, but also with the glories of the Arab Theo-Mercantile, and of the Athenian Greek and Hellenic Secular-Mercantile. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Turks led to many Greek scholars fleeing to West Europe with their manuscripts, which presented an entirely different kind of Consciousness to their avid readers. This was the First West European Cultural Revolution. The erosion of Establishment ideas had led, in India, to *Bhakti* religions. In fighting Europe it led to more vigorous forms of protest—the Protestant religions of Luther and Calvin. This was the Second West European Cultural Revolution. Even orthodox Roman Catholicism was caught in the intellectual current in Jesuitism.

(iv) *Interaction of the Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile Stages* : As in India the Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile Stages in West Europe were largely synchronous and over-lapping, arising out of two different sets of originating factors—land development, and piracy, *both conducted under the auspices of professionals in organised violence.* The two societies intersected, intermingled and collided with each other. Latin Christendom under the Emperor and Pope, and feudal principalities, lay or clerical, were Theo-Aristocratic; the city states, and Leagues of such states, dominated by the mercantile classes, were Theo-Mercantile ; in the national monarchies the king, the barons and the merchant classes continually played at politics—Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile continuously colliding.

## Reasons for West European Superiority in Science and Technology in the Sixteenth Century

West Europe's world superiority in science and technology by the sixteenth century had a long history, which can be explained by Configurational Dynamics.

(i) *Geography*—West Europe had a sharply indented coast-line and was full of rivers, ports, hills and dales. All this aided in trading. West Europe was Greece writ large, the Atlantic substituting for the Mediterranean. With

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



trading goes intensive intellectual activity, which spills to non-trading fields.

(ii) *Natural Resources*—Europe has been and is rich in mines and minerals, which gave a fillip to trading, as we have seen, leading to the first "high civilization" of West Europe being a trading one. The relatively high incidence of the name of Smith in Britain indicates that a large number of technicians found their way to that country. Central Europe also, because of its richness in metals, had, from very early times, large and flourishing mining colonies of technicians from the Eastern Mediterranean.[10]

(iii) *Internal Class Composition*—To service richer West Asia and Egypt, and subsequently South Europe, wave after wave of prospectors and merchants—peaceful and fighting, came to West Europe from the regions served and settled there, as we have seen. When West Asia and Egypt crumbled the smiths of West Europe, plentiful in a land full of minerals, made custom-made goods for various tribal chieftains, many in an area of the globe naturally split up by myriads of rivers, hills and dales. The resultant competitiveness whetted inventiveness and intellectual ingenuity to an exceptional degree.[11]

(iv) *External Relations*—Here also the configuration aided West Europe. For nearly 3000 years it was relatively less civilized than West Asia, Egypt and South Europe, but possessed of substances which they required, and in fairly close proximity to them. West Asian and South European navigators, merchants and technicians, therefore, migrated to West Europe, settled there and developed it. They were the clever, always-working, all-knowing gnomes of West European fairy stories of Nordic origin, its Rumpelstilskins.

(v) *Tradition*—Here again the configuration helped West Europe. We have seen that the technological level in West Europe was already very high even by the 2nd millennium B.C., because of the configuration—existence of mines, and metals, of smiths and technologists, and the importance of trade. West Europe also escaped the River-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Valley Stage of Theo-Technicians, as there was no general desiccation here and, therefore, no shift of neighbouring peoples, led by priest-technologists, to river valleys which became drainable and livable. Such developments in Egypt, the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Indus and the Hwang-ho led to big agricultural surpluses and to great spurts in technology. But priestly rule led to dogma, and this tyranny of dogma impeded further progress, to paraphrase a view put forward by I. M. Diakonoff.[12] In West Europe priestly dogma which came with Christianity stopped progress for some centuries but with the Crusades and the Renaissance its favourable configuration asserted itself towards de-specialization in thinking.

West Europe was invaded in large numbers, we have seen, by fighters—fighting traders as well as fighters pure and simple, all professionals in organised violence. To this tradition is due the continuous defence-consciousness and the interest shown by all and sundry in West Europe in arms and armaments. Many principalities, the profuse abundance of minerals and metals and of technologists whetted competitiveness in this sphere also and led to excellence. The cannon and the iron artillery ball, along with scientific cartography and the best ships in the world, gave West Europe in the sixteenth century such a tremendous superiority that a few daring West Europeans could at will, grapple with Leviathan Asian states, and win in the fray.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 24

# STAGE 8B—INTERACTION OF INDIAN THEO-ARISTOCRATIC WITH FOREIGN THEO-MERCANTILE SOCIETIES

## A. Syrian Christians

Tradition has it that St. Thomas, one of the disciples of Christ, having converted Gondopharnes, a king in north-west India, came down to the west coast, landed at Muziris (Cranganore) in Kerala in 52 A.D. and established 7-1/2 churches. (The 1/2 church was apparently a cupola of some sort). From the west coast he is supposed to have gone to the east coast. Here, at Mylapore, a suburb of Madras, he was martyred.

This cannot be proved or disproved archaeologically as church architecture began only in the first quarter of the fourth century. Roman coins, however, are found pertaining to the supposed period of the apostleship of St. Thomas.[1] And that Kerala had some churches in the sixth century is testified by the statement of Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Byzantine monk.[2] Various inscriptions reveal that the Christian communities enjoyed many rights and privileges. They also played a vital role in the trade and commerce of Kerala.[3] Kottayam is a great centre of these Christians, known as the Syrian Christians, and "Kottam" was apparently earlier a settlement of Jain and Buddhist merchants. It is very likely that the bulk of the Christians who came from West Asia were merchants, and that those who were converted were also from the local merchant community. According to the *Manorama Yearbook* 1974 (p. 322) two waves of Christian immigrants from Persia and West Asia came subsequent to the batch with St. Thomas. The first group came round about the 4th century A.D. and settled down at Cranganore. The second batch landed at Quilon round about 800 A.D. These groups followed the Syrian liturgy and are known as Syrian Christians. Bishops came from Persia and Mesopotamia

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



till the sixteenth century when the Portuguese put a stop to this practice.[4]

Syrian church architecture has many Indian features—Peter and Paul as *dvarapalas* in several places, the absence of pews, impressive gateways with musical halls above, open air cross in front of the main entrance hall (like the *bali pitha* or *dipa-stambha* before Hindu Shrines).[5] The Syrian Christians are as Indian as any in India. They number about 21% of the population of Kerala.[6] They have never abandoned their forward-looking, progressive Theo-Mercantile attitude, and there is no doubt that a great future is in store for them in the task of accelerating India's pace to modernisation.

## B. Interaction with West European Portuguese Theo-Mercantile—Goans.

*Portuguese naval superiority*

It has been stated earlier that many improvements in cartography and in naval design took place in the West European Theo-Mercantile in the 16th century. More specifically, these were[7]—the compass; navigator's charts or portolans; coasts, harbours, landmarks, and compass bearings between major ports; instruments and trigonometrical tables to calculate latitudes; calculation of longitude by dead reckoning, sight of the sun; reduction of the hull width in proportion to the length; several small sails for a single large sail per mast, leading to facilitation in trimming sails, steering etc. The larger ships now possible enabled gun platforms to be built for heavy cannons. The Portuguese in 1509, for instance, could fire broadsides at a distance of 200 yards.

Out of the Portuguese caravels, lateen-rigged ships with two or three masts, developed what was essentially a modern sailing ship, the carrack, a 600 tonner or more, with a variety of sails mounted on three or four masts. The galleon was essentially a Portuguese invention.[8] Galleons were rigged like other big sailing ships of the period, but the length was about four times the beam. This relative narrowness, together with lower castles, fore and

Indian Council for Cultural Relations New Delhi Library
901.920954 | GHO
16600

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



aft, led to greater speed and manouvreability. As no cargo space was required there could be a gun-deck, which could support a heavy main armament of cannon, discharged through ports in the ship's side. The broadside now replaced ramming and grappling.[9]

Thus, by the application of science and technology a small nation like Portugal could acquire enough naval power to terrorise the Turks, the Mughals, the Arabs, the Indians and the Chinese at sea, and ward off attacks by other European sea-powers for over a century.

*Interaction with India*

The Indian ships, light, lashed together with vegetable fibres, were no match for the Portuguese men-of-war, as were neither the bigger and stronger Chinese junks nor Japanese piratical vessels.

India, in spite of its huge population, was thus like an island beleaguered, unable to get at the attackers.

Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498, coming from Malindi in East Africa, guided by an Indian pilot. The Portuguese took advantage of the rivalries between Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore, siding with the two latter against the former. The Arabo-Calicut fleet did not give up easily. The Calicut ships were greater in numbers, and being lighter, were speedier. But the Portuguese caravels were superior in fire-power. Each caravel had four heavy cannons, six falconets (two of them stern guns), ten guns on the quarter-deck on swivel mountings, and a twin gun mounted on the poop.[10] In spite of this the 1503 engagement off Cochin was a draw. The Marakkars of Calicut, the Moplah Muslim admirals of the Zamorin, Kunjali I and his descendants, fought the Portuguese in the coastal waters right up to 1525. The most famous of the harrying Moplah sea-leaders was Kutti Ali, with his small war *padaos*. It is regrettable that chauvinist-Hindu writers have almost ignored these brave Resisters apparently because they were Muslims.

In the high seas, however, the Portuguese reigned supreme and none dared gainsay them. The Turks tried to have a presence in the Indian Ocean, but the various

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



expeditions sent by the sovereign at Constantinople Sulaiman the Magnificent, from 1525 to 1553, led by such redoubtable admirals like Salman Reis and Sidi Ali Reis, failed miserably. All ships in the Eastern seas, including those of the Grand Mogul carrying pilgrims to Mecca, had to have Portuguese licences. Even Akbar the Great had to submit to this indignity and humiliation.

The Portuguese were interested, as the well-known statement of Vasco da Gama to the Zamorin of Calicut makes very clear, in "spices and Christians", a statement which also indicates their 'Mercantile' and 'Theo' character. With this end in view they set up a chain of fortified naval bases from Socotra off the Red Sea to Macao in China. Success in this strategy is largely associated with the name of Affonso de Albuquerque. Albuquerque saw that a headquarters outside the Moplah-dominated Kerala waters was necessary, and he chose the fine natural harbour of Goa, which he wrested from the Bijapur Sultans in 1510.

Fortified naval stations grew up, in India, besides Goa, in Diu ( seized from the Muslim-Indians of Gujarat led by the *ci-devant* Russian, Malik Ayaz), Daman, Salsette, Bassein, and Chaul on the West Coast, San Thome near present-day Madras, and Hooghly in Bengal. A large part of coastal Ceylon also fell to the Portuguese marauders. Outside India there was Socotra off the Red Sea, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, Malacca, which became the entrepot trade centre of the Far East, and Macao in China.

Krishna Deva Rayya of Vijaynagar aligned himself with the Portuguese and gave them Bhatkal. The Portuguese supplied him with splendid horses from Ormuz, and this had a decisive effect in Vijaynagar's battle for Raichur in 1520 with the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. The victories of Krishna Deva Rayya were largely the victories of Portuguese horse and artillery, led by Christovao de Figueiredo.

"Golden Goa", in the 17th century, was the most opulent city in the world, a fortress and a mart, a West European Theo-Mercantile city transplanted in India, with its magnificent cathedral of St. Catherine (1512, rebuilt

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



1632) and the great church of Bom Jesus (1594-1603), enshrining the remains of St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies. It was, among other things, the city of Luis Vas de Camoes (1524?—80), the greatest of Portuguese poets, who lived there from 1553 to 1567, as well as of great scientists like Diego do Couto and Garcia da Orta, the latter being the first European to describe the strange phenomenon of *jatis,* which he called *casta,* subsequently Anglicised to *caste.* To Da Orta, as to the American anthropologist Carleton Coon nearly four hundred years later, *casta* "approached in magnitude the ecological division of labour among animal species in a natural province."[11]

The Spanish conquest of Portugal in 1580 meant that a Theo-Aristocracy took the place of the earlier comparatively forward looking Theo-Mercantilism.[12] The Inquisition and the *autos da fe* came, trade with Vijaynagar fell, and the prosperity of Golden Goa declined. The main reason for this was that the energies of the Portuguese were now directed to developing Brazil, given to them under a Papal Bull.

The Portuguese rulers in general, from the time of Albuquerque, followed a policy of tolerance towards Hindus, and of progressivism, abolishing *suttee* and infanticide. A policy of conversion and of inter-marriage with "high-caste" Hindus was encouraged, and this led to the formation of a community of Goans, ethnologically mainly Indian, Catholic by religion, and basically West European Theo-Mercantile in outlook, with dashes of Theo-Aristocratic India.

With the regression of Goa to the Theo-Aristocratic, the Soft and Easy Life took over, aided by myriads of docile servants (still in Stage III—Matrifocal Agriculturists). Malaria and internal decay supplemented the raids of Marathas and Muslim Indians in hastening the process of decline. Salsette and Bassein fell to the Marathas in 1739. Velha Goa was abandoned in 1759, but for a few ecclesiastics, for a town six miles down the Mandovi River, Nova Goa ("New Goa") or Panjim, which was formally declared to be the capital in 1843.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



In North East India the Portuguese adventurers had no one to control them. Hooghly and Chittagong were great centres of Portuguese piracy and slave trade, aided by the Arakanese Mughs. All along the riverine areas of Bengal the Portuguese lay in wait and kidnapped men, women and children, and sold them to Moslem countries, besides infusing Portuguese blood into the children of Bengali belles, going to ponds and rivers with their brass pitchers (*kalasis*) to fetch water for their household needs, beauties mostly unwilling, sometimes willing, whose progeny have added to the occasional fair colouring and regular features of the elite of Bengal. The Portuguese of Bengal became too bold and presumptuous and Shahjahan destroyed them politically in 1632.

The impact of Theo-Mercantile West Europe (Portuguese) on India was marginal and mainly coastal. The small (about 32% of the population of Goa, Daman and Diu)[13] energetic, capable Christian-Goan community in the West Coast and elsewhere provides excellent professional men and women, musicians, cooks, sailors, soldiers, airmen, and technicians, besides people in other walks of life. As they belong to a higher Consciousness (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile) than most people in India (Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic), their role in accelerating the pace of India's modernization in present and future times is bound to be significant.

### C. Interaction with other West European Theo-Mercantile Peoples—Indian Christians

The whiff of Theo-Mercantile Christian fragrance reached our shores through missionaries like the Italian Catholic Roberto de Nobili (Madura Mission, founded 1606) and the Lutherans of Danish Tranquebar, who came later, in the 18th century, men of attractive character such as Ziegenbalg (d. 1719) and Schwartz (founded the Tirunelveli Mission in 1750). De Nobili was a great Sanskrit and Tamil scholar, as was Beschi after him (d. 1742). De Nobili worked among the Tamils, wearing the sacred thread, and giving out that the Christian teachings were contained in a Hindu scripture, which had been lost, and which it

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



was his mission to restore.[14] He strove to organise the Indian church on the basis of caste, with different sets of Christian priests for "Brahman Christians" and for "lower caste" Christians. Thus he acted like the Muslim Ismaili missionaries of the Punjab in the 10th-11th centuries, with their doctrine of *taqiyeh,* or dissimulation, to spread the Faith. Rome frowned on his methods, but the large number of Tamil Christians today (the bulk of the Indian Christians), owe their origin to De Nobili's efforts at proselytization, followed by those of his Protestant spiritual successors of the Danish and other missions. But India was not a *tabula rasa* (empty slate) and the Christian missionaries were too few to have anything but a marginal effect in face of the overpowering strength of Pauranic-Hinduism, organised in cellular fashion in village and town, in a most flexible manner, by independent Brahmans and ascetics.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 25

# STAGE 9—INTERACTION WITH WEST EUROPEAN (BRITISH) RATIONAL MERCANTILE

## A. Rise of the Rational-Mercantile (bourgeois) in West Europe

In chapter 2 we have identified four Rational Mercantile Societies :

(i) Atheno-Hellenic : 8th century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. (ii) Japanese Rational Mercantile : 14th-19 century A.D. (iii) West European Rational Mercantile : 15th-20th century A.D. (iv) Second American Civilization (of Southern "gentlemen" chiefly) : 16th-19th century A.D.

All these had similar Economic Ways of Life, Consciousness (Prevailing Mentality), Values and Institutions, as the treatment below would show.

Socio-Economic Mode of Life—a larger trading base than in Theo-Mercantile Societies.

Prevailing Mentality—Erosion of the 'Theo' element. Humanism, restraint. Aristocracy still admired. Reason the keystone of activities. Urbane, sensuous.

The Prevailing Mentality suffused all the Basic Attitudes and had the following effect on Values and Institutions :

1. Science and Technology : Natural philosophy/ Scientific Associations. Technical innovations.
2. Economy : More trade/merchant organisations/ colonies/colonial empires.
3. Family and Society : More democratisation.
4. Politics etc. : Stress on self-interest conflicting with democratic idealism. Rule of rich business men.
5. Ideology : Freeing thought from mythopoeia.
6. Culture : Humanism, urbanity, sensuousness.

(a) The Atheno-Hellenic originated in Athens, a Mycenaean city which was never captured by the Dorians

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



and to which, therefore, poured Mycenaen refugees from other parts of Greece. The soil around was poor, but wine and olive oil and fine ceramics (a Cretan heritage) could be exported for grain, timber and metals. There were also the silver mines of Laurium to provide cash. As a city of refugees it was full of people of various types, many of whom had lost their moorings—professional soldiers, orators, demagogues, traders, financial experts etc. The Athenian Rational Mercantile Society grew out of the thoughts and activities of these people and was quite different from the similarly Greek-speaking Theo-Aristocratic Society (Spartan), which lived side by side with it, and whose Values and Institutions have been dealt with in Chapter 15. It virtually created "science" in the sense of completely objective thinking. There are many famous names—Thales (astronomy), Anaximander (cosmology), Eratosthenes (Earth's diameter), Euclid (geometry), Apollonius (conic sections), Aristarchus (heliocentric theories) etc. etc. In the economic field Solon in the 6th century B.C. did away with the rule of Theo-Aristocrats, the Eupatrids, and introduced the rule of rich men. Many other cities like Corinth followed suit, and colonisation of Southern Asia Minor, South Italy, Sicily, the Black Sea coast etc. began, in the wake of commerce, organised by the city, the *polis,* led by rich traders. Solon, in his reforms, and Draco before him, tried to protect the poor. Debts were cancelled, freemen liberated, birth privileges abolished. But society was still slave-ridden. About thirty per cent of the people were slaves, in spite of theories against slavery—of the Cynics, the Stoics, Euripides, and of Alcidamas, who proclaimed: "God has sent all men into the world free, and nature has made no man a slave."[1] Women had some freedom, as Thais' intelligent participation in the affairs of Pericles shows; but she belonged to the *hetairai* (literally "companions") group, most of whose members were cultured, witty, accomplished, often rich women in their own right. Such freedom as was theirs was not allowed to ordinary women, and even the liberal Pericles described the ideal woman as being one about whom the least, either good or bad, could be said.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



In politics the Athenian city state, full of internal strife, born out of excessive love of democracy and arguments, fell to Theo-Aristocratic Sparta. But before it went down it had established certain norms of democracy for its citizens and freemen.

The Atheno-Hellenes freed the intellect from mythopoeia. Everything had to be examined. Said Socrates—The unexamined life is no life for man. Protagoras was a humanist—Man is the measure of all things. Euripides upheld democracy, castigating the lack of it among "barbarians"—"among the barbarians all are slaves but one." Aristotle gave a balanced, harmonious definition of happiness—Happiness is the activity of the soul in accordance with its right functioning in the complete life. An Egyptian priest, catching the throbbing, bubbling, intellectual quality of the life of the Hellenes, said—The Hellenes are all children (i.e. agog with curiosity), there is no old Hellene.

Greek humanism is alive not only in the poems and plays of Pindar, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Sappho, but also in works like the comedies of manners of Menander and Philemon and in the histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Polybius, and in the lives of Plutarch.

A supreme blend of classic restraint, sensuousness, graceful simplicity and serenity was achieved in Greek art and architecture—alike in the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders, the Black and Red figure wares, in the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, and in the sculptures of Praxiteles and of Scopas, to give only a few illustrations.

(b) The same package of Values and Institutions is seen in the West European Rational Mercantile. The tone in science and technology was set by the enthusiastic Andreas Vesalius of Padua (the university town of merchant-ruled Venice), one of the pioneers of the Scientific Revolution (the Third West European Cultural Revolution) who declared in 1543 that "It is necessary to challenge every past authority and be grounded only by facts"—which no one has dared to say so far in overwhelmingly Theo-Aristocratic India. Many scientific academies were founded in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



West Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, "natural philosophy" came into existence (mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry etc. from Kepler and Tycho Brahe to Linnaeus, Devries, Cavendish, Priestly, Lavoisier and Buffon), industrial exhibitions were held, archaeological excavations begun, printing started, and cannons, artillery, ships and navigation devices significantly bettered.

Merchant adventurers knit themselves under royal charters—when they were not pirates. The slave trade between Africa and America flourished and colonies and colonial empires—British, French, Dutch etc.—were established and held fast to. New crops like the potato and tobacco were adopted. Adam Smith and the Physiocrats advocated free trade and *laissez faire.*

In family and social matters there was some democratisation. Francis Bacon preached that the improvement of society was very desirable—a new note in the world, and Bodin and Grotius pleaded for juster laws. Rousseau's ideas set the Western world in fire, and Bentham and Mill urged, among other things, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number", and an end to the "subjection of women".

Idealism and self-interest vied with each other in national and colonial wars. British naval supremacy began from the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Non-conformists in politics were tolerated, the United States became independent, and where the aristocracy could not come to terms with the new forces, it was defeated, suffered, and had to go to the guillotine (French Revolution), leaving the way clear for the bourgeois Code Napoleon.

In the sphere of emotions and ideas, Erasmus was the leader of the Fourth West European Cultural Revolution, the Humanist (First-Renaissance; Second-Reformation; Third-Scientific). Descartes underscored Vesalius when he declared—*cogito, ergo sum* (I think, therefore I exist). The Fifth Revolution was that of the Enlightenment, of the Encyclopaedists like Diderot, Voltaire, Helvetius etc. in the 18th century; Voltaire started the comparative study of civilization in a systematic way (he called it "universal history"). Adam Ferguson taught that there were Stages

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of Civilization, of universal occurrence, and Robert Turgot linked each such Stage with a separate package of Values and Institutions. Thus they believed in what may be termed the "Integral Stages" theory of history.

Reason was the keynote to all activities. It was the middle class, rational, mercantile, opulently sensuous Whig world which dominated. Even the artistic outlook was permeated with it, as is shown in the sensuous paintings of Watteau and Fragonard and in baroque and rococo architecture. The rule of reason generally means humanism, and its greatest exponent in literature was Shakespeare. Restraint from unnecessary emotionalism, so fitting to this milieu, was called "Classicism". This serenity is well exemplified, alike in Mozart, in Beethoven's "Pastoral Symphony", and in the placid, self-confident paintings of Gainsborough and of Reynolds.

(c) West European Rational Mercantile Civilization overflowed into North America, and the Second American Civilization (the First was the Theo-Mercantile—"Puritan" —one of New England) came into existence. It started with the slave trade of John Hawkins, slaves being held to be necessary for doing the "dirty work" for the emigrants to the colonies which came into existence, inspired by people like Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh (16th century) —an example of selfish, rational self-interest, as in Athens. These colonists, who were in the south-eastern part of what became the United States, were slave-owning gentlemen, but also of Rational Mercantile origin. The latter side found expression in such slogans as "no taxation without representation" and in Patrick Henry's fervent plea for colonial autonomy against British exploitation. This feeling led to the successful American War of Independence, with its new principles of the equality of men, and the right of every human being to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". For the first time in the world, in an area free from the Weight of Tradition, the experiment of challenging institutions was started, a precursor to the French Revolution. The rational element also found expression in Daniel Webster's plea for free trade, in the freeing of women from guardianship regarding property,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



in the writings of Emerson, and in Tom Paine's "Common Sense" (1774).

(d) In Russia the Englishmen Richard Chancellor and Giles Fletcher visited Muscovy in the 16th century and some trade with West Europe ensued. The colonisation of Siberia in the 17th century also led to the opening of a chain of trading posts. Peter the Great in the 18th century founded St. Petersburg to "open a window to Europe". He encouraged merchants, who traded, among other countries, with China and Japan. Catherine the Great also encouraged merchants and in her time Odessa developed into a great port. In the nineteenth century, along with the growth of railways, a mercantile class came into existence, its problems being portrayed by dramatists like Ostrovsky (e.g. "The Storm"). But this class never became large enough in the short time in question to become really powerful in the interplay of class forces in Theo-Aristocratic Russia.

(e) The Japanese had adopted many technique from China, as is universally acknowledged. Many adventurous Chinese and Korean scholars and technicians found Japan to be their *Ultima Thule,* as did Continental Europeans Britain at the other end of the vast Eurasian land mass. This fact was to prove of the greatest importance when Japan took to industrialisation in the West European manner. It is possible that the "reverse engineering" for which the Japanese are so famous—breaking down an object, discovering its design in the process, and then rebuilding it—started at this time.

In the Muromachi period (14th-15th centuries), pirates in alliance with Buddhist monks of great monasteries like Tenryuji, Shofkuji, Hasedera etc. raided the Korea coast. Later on, in the Sengoku period, they raided China, Annam and Cambodia, a typefigure being Honda Tadakatsu. Following Nobunaga's "pacification" of Japan in the 16th century the merchant class, *chonin,* grew, being fed by disbanded soldiers, the *ronin.* Its members organised themselves in *za* guilds, utilised native, Chinese and Korean technicians, and developed ports like Osaka and Nagasaki.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



From literary references (e.g. the plays of Chikamatsu), it appears that women were freer in this mercantile milieu than in the warrior *samurai* society. And, as in Athens, a cultured *hetairai* society grew up, the famous *geishas* of Shinmachi (in Osaka), Shimabara (in Kyoto), and Yoshiwara (in Yedo, later known as Tokyo).

In the political field the *samurai* kept power to themselves, and there was bitter *samurai-chonin* rivalry.

In the sphere of ideology, the merchants apparently patronised Protestant sects of Buddhism like Nichiren, Zen, Shin etc., but the 'theo' element was weak. It was almost a rational society. This is particularly apparent in literature and in the warm, human, urban, sensuous paintings and in architecture, like the *Ukiyo-e* ("Floating Life") pictures of the 17th-18th century, the comfortable feminine-type houses (*shinden-dzukuri*), the *kinkaku* ("golden pavilion") and *ginkaku* ("silver pavilion") and in Hideyoshi's flamboyant Momoyama palace, which is the counterpart of the Western rococo. In literature we have the *Kabuki,* much more easily understood than the aristocratic *no, joruri* (metrical romances), middle class *ninjo* plays, and witty *sharebon* literature, using the sharp, slangy, critical Yedokko language of Yedo (later Tokyo). To this society belongs the Shakespeare of Japan, Monzaemon Chikamatsu, with his wide humanity.

Thus, the Japanese Rational Mercantile society shows, broadly, the same features and characteristics as the Atheno-Hellenic, the West European Rational Mercantile and the Second American (Rational Mercantile) societies. Using the concepts of Adam Ferguson and Turgot, all of these are "Integral Stage 9" civilizations, with the same Values-and-Institutions Package, and there is neither "East" nor "West" as between them.

## B. Why did all Theo-Mercantile Civilization not Evolve to the Rational-Mercantile?

A question will arise here—out of the many Theo-Mercantile Civilizations mentioned in Chapter 2, why has no "Eastern" one "made the grade" to the Rational Mercan-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



tile? The Levantine was ravaged by the Theo-Aristocratic Rome. The Cretan absorbed the raiding Warrior-Aristocrat Mycenaean conquerors, but was later sacked by the iron-using Warrior-Aristocrat Dorians, and died a violent death. The Babylonian fell to the Warrior Aristocrat Kassites (17th-12th century B.C.), was under Theo-Aristocratic Assyrian Suzerainty (12th-7th century B.C.), and was finally murdered by the Theo-Aristocratic Persians. The First West European Theo-Mercantile was snuffed out by the relentless pressure of the Theo-Aristocratic Romans in the 4th century B.C.

In the case of Theo-Mercantile China, mastery over the seas passed to the "ocean devils" (*yang Kuei-tzŭ*) after the 17th century, foreign trade passed to foreign hands, the importance of traders in Chinese society diminished, and a regression to Theo-Aristocracy set in.

There was similar regression to the Theo-Aristocratic from the Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile. With the Crusades in the 11th century, supremacy in trading in the Mediterranean world passed to the Italians, and conservative land-holding elements began to get the upper hand (as we have seen in Chapter 18), a process hastened by conquests from outside by the Warrior-Aristocratic Seljuk Turks, the decay of the Mesopotamian irrigation system and its destruction by the Mongols in the 13th century.

The West African Theo-Mercantile societies—West Sudan, Ghana, Mali, Songhai etc. fell to the Theo-Aristocratic Moroccans from the north, armed with arquebus and cannon, in the 15th/16th centuries. The East African Theo-Mercantile societies in places like Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Kilwa, Mozambique, Kilimani, Sofala etc. fell to the strong-armed warrior hordes, the Bantus.

The Russian Theo-Mercantile (Kiev Rus) fell to the shattering blows of the Warrior Aristocrat Pecheneg Turks and the Warrior Aristocrat Mongols in the 13th century.

Thus in all the cases considered the Theo-Mercantile society concerned fell to stronger-armed Theo-Aristocratic or Warrior-Aristocrat ones, or regressed to Theo-Aristocracy because of loss of trade, and hence of the strength

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



and influence of the trader element in society. We find a similar reason for the weakness of the Scientific Renaissance in Iberia and South Italy. The Weight of Tradition was too strong here. And Spanish silver and gold, instead of the hard bleakness of New England, helped the Iberian Theo-Aristocrats, but proved their undoing. Only in West Europe and in Japan could the Mercantile men, descendants of pirates, and not of peaceful traders as in other places, hold their own against their enemies. It is true that Kiev Rus was also the progeny of Vikings, but here the opposing Warrior-Aristocrats, Pechenegs and Mongols, were just too strong. In all the cases, therefore, there is neither "East" nor "West" which is at work. Similar causes, everywhere, lead to similar socio-economic and cultural results.

### C. Weakness of Indian Society/Doctrine of White Superiority

Rational Mercantile or Bourgeois Civilization, Civilization 9, with its corresponding Prevailing Mentality or Consciousness 9, was superior to all others achieved so far, not only on the military side, but on all sides, except the mystical and metaphysical, which really did not fit in with its Cartesian ethos. With its superior navies and armaments it by-passed the world of Islam and blockaded the whole of Asia. Its carracks and caravels reigned supreme over the seven seas. Galileo had challenged the Aristotleian Establishment, Pascal had already invented a calculating machine, Newton had discovered the laws of gravity, Leibnitz had worked out the fundamentals of differential calculus, Fermat of integral calculus, and Harvey had probed into the secrets of the circulation of the blood. In the field of ideas there were, besides Descartes, realists like Locke and Hobbes, looking at the world with clear eyes, free of the miasma of myth and mythology. And Francis Bacon had taught that society could be improved with science. In the 18th and 19th centuries the West European Rational-Mercantile Civilization reached its zenith. Diderot, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Helvetius, Rousseau freed the mind from many of the shackles of Space-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Time, from many myths and prejudices ("The Enlightenment"), Adam Smith worked out the concept of the "economic man", which was elaborated, in its philosophical and sociological aspects, by Bentham and Mill. It intersected with West European 10 (Scientific-Democratic) from the 17th century onwards.

Clearly, there was no chance of people in Weaker Stages of Civilization to stand up to the Rational Mercantile in any sphere of life, save the mystical and metaphysical. If people of Consciousness 9 could throw a sufficiently strong weight against people of weaker Consciousness, their victory was assured and because of their immense military-political and organisational superiority the numbers, in absolute terms, could be quite small. For more lasting influence, for penetration and infiltration, a higher concentration of Consciousness 9 people was, of course, necessary.

India was split up, in the 18th century, into peoples in Stages of Consciousness 1 (Primitive Food-Gatherers and Hunters), Consciousness 3 (Agriculturists), Consciousness 4 (Artisans), led by people of Consciousness 7 (Theo-Aristocrats or Feudal people).

The Consciousnesses were as follows :—

Consciousness 1— Peaceful, friendly, amiable (all in a comparative way), low level of organisational ambition, slip-shod. Happy with daily routines and old traditions.

Consciousness 3— Permeated with Consciousness 1, the Consciousness of their ancestors. Earth-bound, tied to rituals and superstitions; plodding, back-breaking work; rigid adherence to traditions; the vast mass of Indians.

Consciousness 4— Too few in numbers, entirely subordinate to the Theo-Aristocrats. Sense of rule of thumb innovations benumbed by the Theo-Aristocrats.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Consciousness 7— More 'Theo' than 'Aristo'. Priestly values and mores overshadowing the warrior except in the case of Muslims and Sikhs.

The Theo-Aristocratic itself was split into Hindu, Muslim and Sikh groups, and the Hindus divided again into innumerable castes and sub-castes, all in a state of jealousy and rivalry or resigned apathy. There were also remnants of people from Stage 8 (Theo-Mercantile), like the Marwaris, Jains, and other traders. Such a society had no chance whatsoever against a people of Consciousness 9, if the latter made their weight felt with sufficient numbers.

But as long as India was united, the West Europeans, with their small numbers, could not succeed in warfare, as their failure in the wars of the Portuguese with Shahjahan (1632) and of the British with Aurangzeb (1686-90) showed. When, however, *Pax Mughalia* was succeeded by a multitude of smaller states the strong-armed men of Civilization 9 broke up the Civilization 7 sticks of India one by one. India was athwart the route to the Spice Islands, and so the warlike merchants of West Europe found their way there, as they did to South East Asia. West Asia had to be by-passed by the West European navies in any case. And China and Japan were too far away to fall to the very small marauding groups which reached their shores. When these found themselves there in larger numbers they consisted of too many nationalities of West Europe, and the jealousies and rivalries *inter se* saved these parts of Asia from Western domination.

What was really the superiority of a stronger, higher Stage of Civilization was for long attributed by most Europeans to skin colour, the superiority of the "whites" over the "coloured" peoples, a feeling which apparently even now, according to the Dutch historian, Jan Romein, pervades their sub-consciousnesses.[2] As "white superiority" cannot be put back earlier than the 17th century, 300 years in a history of "higher" civilization of about 8000 years, it can, even according to the Racialists, be held to have been only "latent" all the time, like all living persons

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



being latent Buddhas in the Mahayana theory. Clearly all this is Unreason, the negation of the Cartesian Consciousness, and demonstrably false as has been done by many. This false racial philosophy of history is still the cause of many political mistakes, and of much misery, in many places of the globe.

### D. Periodization

The interaction with West European (British) Rational Mercantile Civilization can be periodized thus:—

Phase I—Factory period (1600-1680); Phase II—Zamindari and intervention in politics for trade (1680-1757); Phase III—Empire (1757-1857).

Thereafter came interaction with West European (British) Scientific-Democratic Civilization. (Civilization 10—"Modern").

### E. Interaction with Rational-Mercantile West Europe: Factory Period (1600-1680).

The thrust of the presentation is:

(i) the Dutch and the British overtook the Portuguese in naval technology; (ii) as the Dutch worsted and ousted the British from the East Indies the latter had perforce to concentrate on India, which turned out to be a blessing in disguise for them; (iii) the British became the naval protectors of the Mughals and the trading partner of Indian rulers, which started them on the road to greatness; (iv) they were too few in numbers at this stage to have any cultural effect on India.

The Dutch acquired great skill in naval designing in the course of dealing with their native problems of inland navigation: they had thirty nine types of river and canal boat.[3] They designed ships with large holds, narrow lines, short masts and a 'tumble-home' to reduce bulk and wind resistance above the water-line. These ships were very much faster than others in those days and crew costs were also less. Instrumentation was perfected in Britain, the *Ultima Thule* of Europe's adventurous craftsmen and technicians. Edmund Halley, the astronomer, published in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



1686 the first wind-chart of trades and monsoons, and in 1699-1702 charted the global variation of the magnetic compass. John Hadley in 1731 demonstrated an octant, which was a great improvement on the quadrant, as it was not affected by the movement of the ship. Thomas Godfrey of Philadelphia and Caleb Smith in Britain made further improvements, and the octant developed into the sextant. In 1714 the British Government set up a Board of Longitude, and encouraged by it, John Harrison, in 1762, solved the problem of precise determination of the longitude at sea with his No. 4 chronometer.[4] Britannia indeed became the unchallenged Ruler of the Waves, the Mistress of the Seas.

The Dutch were interested, as were the other West Europeans, in the spices of the East Indies and those of Ceylon-pepper, cardamon and cinnamon, to preserve meat in those days when there were no refrigerators. They headed straight for these Spice Islands soon after the Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602. They ousted the Portuguese and traded for spices with Indian textiles. For this purpose they established a number of armed trade depots, or "factories" in India with the permission of the local rulers—at Pulicat, Surat, Chinsura, Kasimbazar, Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Negapatam and Cochin.

The British (organised in Charter Companies) had at first been interested in the "North West passage" to the Spice Islands. Then in the overland route. When these proved impracticable they took to the high seas. But as yet they had not developed their excellent instrumentation and maps. The Dutch beat them in the South East Asia seas (Amboyna, 1623), and they had to settle down to the hard life of traders in textiles, saltpetre and sugar in India, which forced on them the necessity of acquiring a good deal of local knowledge, a factor which was of great help to them subsequently.

Before this they had defeated the Portuguese at the Swally estuary of the Tapti River in 1612, and their naval prestige thus much enhanced in the eyes of the Mughals, became their protectors against Portuguese naval depredations on the high seas. Says Percival Spear :—[5]"The

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Company tacitly became the maritime auxiliary of the empire." The British then secured their rear by taking Ormuz from the Portuguese in 1622, who surrendered only after bitter resistance to the end. The Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea became pirate-infested, with the British supreme. The pirates operated largely from Madagascar, and their boisterous adventures and hair-breadth escapades —of Taylor, Avery, England, Teach (Blackbeard), John Plantain and Captain Kidd—delighted and inspired British boys for well over two centuries.

The British now persuaded the Mughals and other princes to allow them free trade in lieu of fixed sums, and this became the basis of all future agreements, *firmans* and *nishans,* starting with the Golkonda Golden Firman of 1632. Their higher business efficiency, that of the Rational-Mercantile Consciousness, enabled them to out-manoeuvre native merchants, and local rulers became more and more involved with them as business partners. Like the Dutch they also built armed "factories" or trading stations. The joint-stock company device gave them stability. The French were late in the field and found the British already established.

Although West Europe had known, by the 17th century, Erasmus, Francis Bacon and Descartes, nothing of their teaching was transmitted to India by the reckless merchant adventurers. They were not philanthropic intellectuals, and in any case they were too few to have any effect at all on the huge Theo-Aristocracy that was India.

### F. Phase II : Zamindari and Intervention in Politics for Trade (1680-1757)

It is a measure of the daring of the Rational Mercantile adventurers, inheritors of the Viking traditions, that they measured swords with the still ostensibly powerful Mughals of Aurangzeb. The Child brothers in Bengal were defeated (1686-90), but as they were strong at sea, were the naval protectors of the Mughals, and because their trade benefitted the State treasury and Mughal grandees they were pardoned by Aurangzeb, in lieu of the then huge

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



sum of Rs. 150,000 as compensation. Job Charnock had, during the 1686-90 war, founded a settlement at a muddy, fever-stricken, steaming, malarious, tiger-infested place, the nucleus of the future city of Calcutta. This was at the highest point then in the estuary of the Hooghly River, up to which ships could come, a vantage point for sallies inland as well as of retreat by sea, if the occasion arose, a configuration similar to other English-founded cities like London and Shanghai.

Business-companions of the Mughals, the English persuaded them to grant them property rights (*zamindari*) of the land and the villages round about their settlement—Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindapur (1698), which merged in Kalikata, or Calcutta. The English now had a dual source of authority—over the Indians, as *zamindars,* from the Mughals; and over English subjects, from London. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, was a romantic figure. He had rescued, earlier in his life, a beautiful Brahman girl from *suttee,* and lived with her lovingly. In the small and elegant church of St. John in Calcutta they still lie side by side.

Similar cities of the English were Bombay and Madras. The English port cities grew and prospered. By the middle of the 18th century Madras had a population of about 300,000; Calcutta, 200,000 and Bombay, 70,000. The Maratha invasion of Bengal in 1742 led to some West Bengal refugees fleeing to North and East Bengal, the leaders as *zamindars,* and to others streaming to Calcutta. Thus the English base of Calcutta came to be built up by this internal movement, and the English came to have a supply of labour and of skills of various types. Based on the evidence of Ganga Ram's *Maharashtra Purana* and other books on these folk movements, the Bengali novelist, Mahasveta Devi, has built her epic historical novel, *Andhar-manik,* which gives a vivid picture of the lives and emotions of those days.

The Rational Mercantilists, because of their immensely superior military strength, got involved willy-nilly in Indian politics. A notable and crucial event, occurring in South India, was the defeat of the Nawab of the Kar-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



natak in 1746 by the French under Paradis. The fire-power of Rational-Mercantilist muskets and cannons broke up the cavalry charge of the Theo-Aristocrat Indians, whose artillery and gunnery were poor, and whose infantry, unwieldy, untrained, not disciplined by close order drill, was no match for Indo-French levies. Paradis' victory was an eye-opener and a landmark. The British copied the French, and meddled in Indian politics. They also fought out among themselves, with the final result however being often decided by politics and military defeats and victories in West Europe. The French were the discoverers of the techniques of meddling in Indian politics, the chief genius being Joseph Francois Dupleix (1697-1763), and the English close imitators under Robert Clive (1725-74). The Dupleix Plan had three components :—[6]

(i) alliance with Indian powers ; (ii) training Indian soldiers on a large scale in Rational-Mercantile European methods of warfare, to win wars with their assistance ; (iii) marching armies away from the coast and striking inland.

In the Anglo-French contests, which followed, the English ultimately won because of their naval superiority, the defeat of Admiral de Suffren in 1782 setting the seal of their victory. As the authoritative *Cambridge History of the British Empire,* Vol. IV (p. 164) states : "The principal cause which had contributed to this complete victory was certainly the relentless pressure of sea power. Although the French fleet was never destroyed, yet the cumulative effect of the three actions which were fought established an irresistible superiority". A generation before de Suffren's naval defeat in 1782 the Cannonade of Plassey, in 1757, had given the British command over Bengal. Bengal, and the city of Calcutta becames the base of subsequent British operations in the Gangetic Plains.

The English were so few that they became partly Indianised in externals, as Percival Spear brings out in his book *The Nabobs.* ("Absorption" according to our Absorption-Appropriation syndrome). They wore "banian" clothes in their houses, ate Indian food in the Indian manner

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



on tours, chewed *pan* (betel-leaves), smoked the *hookah*, and participated in Indian processions and fire-works.[7]

Food was largely Indianised. Ovington describes lovingly the dishes which they had in Surat—*palau, cabob, dum-poked fowl, mango achar* and *sony sauce*. Much English beer and European and Persian wines were 'drunk with temperance and alacrity', the favourite concoction apparently being "punch", made up of *arrack* (a local grain-brew), rose water, citron juice, sugar and water. In the hot climate, without fans, suffering was terrible, and the mortality rate high. Life, however, was boisterous, and the egalitarian Rational-Mercantile men opposed pomp and pretension on the part of anyone. The junior "factors" spent much time in gaming and loafing while their seniors went out shooting, or on river excursions in their *budgerows*. As European women were few, *nautch* (dancing) girls provided feminine companionship. But by and large the Rational-Mercantile men at this time led their own, group-bound lives, without however feeling contempt for Theo-Aristocratic Indian social customs.[8]

## G. Phase III—Empire (1757-1857)

### Configurational Dynamics

During the period 1757-1857 the British Rational-Mercantilists threw sufficient force in India to bring about significant changes. The sections which follow pertain mainly to this period.

The Configurational Dynamics involved were—External Forces—Constant stimuli of Rational Mercantilists. Exploitation of Natural Resources—Engendered by the Rational Mercantilists, for selfish reasons. Any benefit to the Indians was incidental.

Internal Forces—New classes came into existence as a result of the Rational-Mercantile Impact. These then entered in the Interplay of Forces. The various classes, old and new, are given below.

A. *Rural*: (a) Landed aristocracy, Princes, New Zamindars, absentee landlords, all for the apparently invincible foreign rulers after resistance was over. (b) Tenants,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



peasant proprietors, landless labourers, ex-artisans forced back on the land due to loss of business as a result of competition from the machine. All largely pawns in the politico-military game. (c) Merchants and money-lenders (old and new)—continued trading, money-lending and consumer exploitation. (d) Servicing People—Continued to live under conditions of constant exploitation and humiliation, as before; apathetic, resigned to their fate.

B. *Urban*: (a) Rational Mercantile Rulers—modernisers; the external stimuli came through them; their superiority came to be linked with skin-colour. (b) Soldiers, largely Indian mercenaries, instruments in the hands of Rational Mercantile Rulers as they were not as yet imbued with Nationalist feelings. (c) Capitalists, industrialists—practically nil, what existed were largely of Rational-Mercantile origin. (d) City workers (factories)—practically nil. (e) Petty traders and shopkeepers—as in earlier centuries. (f) Professional classes and intelligentsia—numbers small; fortunes linked with those of the Rational Mercantile rulers. (g) Commercial classes—as before. (h) Servicing classes—as in the countryside.

The Bengalis came to be clerical sub-rulers of the Rational-Mercantilists in many parts of North and North-East India. The Muslim Indians held aloof from the *Angrez Kafir* (The English Unbeliever) who, they believed, had supplanted them.

Weight of Tradition—This was very strong, and society remained overwhelmingly Theo-Aristocratic, in spite of the efforts of hustlers like Bentinck, Macaulay, Dalhousie etc., aided by Indian co-operators like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Derozeans, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar etc. to pull India out of stagnation.

## H. Values and Institutions—A Tabloid

The tabloid below is arranged, as regards "Institutions" in terms of the syndromes of our Encounter—Analysis Technique-Conquest (or Imposition)—Resistance/Propagation—Assimiliation/Reconciliation/Absorption—Appropriation/Transmutation. At the end of each entry the initiators are indicated in brackets, thus—(Rational-Mercan-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



tilists), (Theo-Aristocrats). The term "Institutions" also includes achievements, happenings, etc.

### 1. *Science and Technology*

*Values*—very little effect on the entrenched Theo-Aristocrats who overwhelmed the Rational-Mercantilists in number.

*Institutions : Conquest-Resistance—Nil. Propagation-Assimilation—*

(i) 1788 Botanical Gardens at Sibpur (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (ii) Derozeans and Quasi-Bourgeois Indians tried to popularise science—men like Peary Chand Mitra, Kishori Chand Mitra, Radhanath Sikdar, Akshay Kumar Dutt, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. They helped many Rationalist-Mercantilists to found the Calcutta School of Industrial Arts (1854) (Both Rational-Mercantilists and Theo-Aristocrats) ; (iii) Roads, railways, posts and telegraphs, irrigation works (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iv) Printing presses established and run by Christian missionaries opened the flood-gates of knowledge and ended the intellectual domination of knowledge-monopolising, esoteric *gurus*. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (v) Scientific studies in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, started by Sir William Jones, 1784. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (vi) Medical Colleges at Calcutta/Bombay (1835/1845) (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (vii) Lucknow Assimilation of West European science and technology in the court of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder (1814-27) and Wajid Ali Shah (1847-56). (Theo-Aristocrats).

*Appropriation*—Parsee light industry—Cowasjee Davar's cotton mill, 1854/Ardeshir Cursetjee, Ship-builder, first Indian Fellow of the British Royal Society. (Theo-Mercantilists).

### 2. *Economics*

*Values*—Links with the world through the Rational Mercantile men from abroad—largely a humiliating one of source of raw materials. Substitution of handicrafts industries by machine-made goods. Change in land relations and concepts about land.

*Institutions : Conquest or Imposition—Resistance—*

(i) De-industrialisation, extortion of artisans, machine-made goods drive out handicrafts ; export of raw materials at cheap rates ; economic drain partly financed the Industrial Revolution in Britain. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (ii) Change in land-relations/land became a saleable commodity, a new concept/*zamindar* class, mainly in Bengal, with "permanent" or fixed revenue obligations, without administrative or executive status; as they were mainly not Rational-Mercantilists and as the milieu was Theo-Aristocratic, they became economic parasites and absentee landlords in Calcutta instead of developing

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the land, like English Rational-Mercantile squires. Land-relations mercantilised. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iii) Mobility of labour by abolition of slavery, and because of railways, posts and telegraphs and more and better roads. (Rational-Mercantilists).

*Reconciliation*

Bengalis and Parsees as fronts for Company's servants, forbidden to trade in their own name/Anglo-Bengali and Anglo-Parsee commercial rapprochement at higher levels. Later, crash of Anglo-Bengali Houses because of overtrading and overspeculation. (Rational-Mercantilists/Theo-Aristocrats (Bengalis)—Theo-Mercantilists (Parsees)).

*Appropriation*

Effects of Parsee light industry. (Theo-Mercantilists).

3. *Politics/Administration/Military matters, etc.*

*Values*—Oligarchical rule of foreigners, good relations with the Hindu conquered, specially Bengalis. Equality before law. Liberalism.

*Institutions : Conquest-Resistance*

(i) Several wars (Rational-Mercantilists/Theo-Aristocrats) ; (ii) West European adventurers (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iii) West European financial extortioners (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iv) Doctrine of Lapse as instrument of annexation. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (v) Several women leaders and resisters (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (vi) 25 peasant uprisings in 100 years (Democrats—the peasants).

*Propagation-Assimilation*

(i) Modernization of administrative system, law, procedures, precedents. based on the principle of equality before law. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (ii) Freedom of the Press (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iii) Journalism—Bengali/Persian/Urdu/ Parsee-Gujarati/—seeds of ferment and national feeling sown. (Theo-Aristocrats/Theo-Mercantilists (Parsees)).

*Reconciliation*

Manchester liberals like Cobden, Anstey etc. were for independence for India. (Rational-Mercantilists).

*Appropriation*

Ram Mohan Roy appropriated Rational-Mercantilist agitational methods in politics for press freedom, lower land taxes, industrialization. (Theo-Aristocrats).

4. *Family and Society*

*Values*—Some rationalism and humanism injected into a Theo-Aristocratic system.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Institutions : Conquest-Resistance*

(i) Abolition of slavery, *suttee,* suppression of *thugee, meriah* (human sacrifice). (Rational-Mercantilists).

*Propagation—Assimilation*

(i) Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's widow-remarriage bill enacted—the idea of social change through legislative action. (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (ii) Changes in the class system—rise of bourgeois and quasi-bourgeois professional classes, officials, some merchants etc. (Theo-Aristocrats/Theo-Mercantilists).

*Reconciliation*

(i) New Bengali social and professional groups (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (ii) Rapprochement in daily life (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iii) Parsee daily life (Theo-Mercantilists).

*Absorption—Appropriation*

Absorption of caste ideas by the Conquerors (Rational-Mercantilists).

5. *Ideology*

*Values*—Rationalisation of beliefs, greater humanity.

*Conquest-Resistance*

(i) Failure of Christianisation efforts (Theo-Mercantilists /Theo-Aristocrats).

*Appropriation*

Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj (1828)—Hinduism "reformed", largely on Anglican Christian principles, with Vedanta base. (Theo-Aristocrats).

*Transmutation*

Ram Mohan Roy's efforts to evolve a new, higher Religion of Man, beyond Hindu, Reformed Hindu and Christian faiths—Universal Religion/Unitarian Church (1821-27). (Theo-Aristocrats/Theo-Mercantilists).

6. *Culture*

*Values*—Rationalisation of beliefs, greater humanity, widening scope of education—its secularisation.

*Institutions : Conquest-Resistance*

(i) Reassertion of indigenous values and themes in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu ; great Urdu writers (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (ii) Evangelical brakes on Reconciliation (Theo-Mercantilists).

*Propagation-Assimilation*

(i) Development of prose literature in Hindi, Bengali, Urdu etc. by foreign missionaries, largely for religious purposes. (Theo-Mercantilists) ; (ii) English as medium of higher edu-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



cation—Bentinck and Macaulay's measure, supported by Ram Mohan Roy etc./Wood Despatch—universities/medical colleges. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iii) Female education—John Drinkwater Bethune (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iv) Lebedeff and British amateur theatre groups in India inspire the modern Bengali stage (Rational-Mercantilists/Theo-Aristocrats) ; (v) The bourgeois Derozeans, and their beliefs (1809-31)—The Indian Renaissance (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (vi) Quasi-Bourgeois Indian thinkers and writers—Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar/ Akshay Kumar Dutt and Michael Madhusudan Dutt (Theo-Aristocrats).

*Reconciliation*

(i) Novels by Walter Scott, Delafield etc. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (ii) Orientalists/The "Aryan" hypothesis of Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson etc. Systematic and objective study of Asia in the Asiatic Society, Bengal established in 1784 by Sir William Jones. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iii) Collections/descriptions etc. of all facets of Indian life by "eccentric" Englishmen. (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (iv) Arousal of "history consciousness"—Elphinstone's "History of India" (Rational-Mercantilists) ; (v) Indian scenes by European painters/Mica painting of Murshidabad/Patna "occupation" (*firqa*) painting (Rational-Mercantilists/Theo-Aristocrats) ; (vi) Lucknow architecture and paintings, much of it borrowed from the "West" (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (vii) Travelogue of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in England, end 18th century. (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (viii) Serfaji in Tanjore, 18th-/19th century, patronised Western art styles. (Theo-Aristocrats).

*Appropriation*

(i) Journalism — Bengali/Persian/Urdu/Parsee-Gujarati etc. (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (ii) New irreverent spirit of journalists, e.g. Ishwar Gupta/*Kavir larai* (poetic disputations). (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (iii) Michael's "blank verse" in Benpali, Kolhatkar's *Othello* in Marathi (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (iv) New habits like drinking tea, coffee, etc. (Theo-Aristocrats).

*Transmutation*

(i) Amanat's opera, *Indar Sabha* at Lucknow (Theo-Aristocrats) ; (ii) The humanism of Nazir of Agra. (Theo-Aristocrats).

## I. Political History: Long Resistance by Indians—Feudal Leaders as well as Peasants

Geopolitically, the powers standing in the way of Rational Mercantile British supremacy (operating through the East India Company) were the Mughal successor states

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



—Bengal and Bihar, and Oudh; the Rohilla Afghan intruders of Western Uttar Pradesh; the Muslim state in Mysore founded by the soldier-of-fortune and military genius, Hyder Ali; the divided Maratha princes—the Peshwa, Holkar, Sindhia and Bhonsle; the Jats of Bharatpur; the Gurkhas of Nepal; and the Sikhs of the Punjab. The *casus belli,* as in the case of Serajevo in World War I, was not important; any excuse was good enough, it was the Life Force, the *elan vital* of the Rational Mercantile man, seeking to expand.

The main struggles between the Consciousness 9 (Rational-Mercantile) and Consciousness 7 (Theo-Aristocratic) men between 1757 and 1857 were as follows:—

1757 Cannonade in the mango-grove of Plassey in West Bengal. Clive defeats Siraj-ud-daula.

1764 Buxar (mid-way between Patna and Benares). Sir Hector Munro defeated Mir Kasim of Bengal, the Nawab of Oudh and Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor, after a hard-fought battle.

1767-69 First Mysore War against Hyder Ali, several victories of Hyder Ali. Nizam vacillating and double-dealing between British and Hyder Ali.

1774 British knock out the Rohilla Aghans of Oudh as a fighting force.

1775-82 First Maratha War: British interference in the affairs of the Poona durbar; British victories and reverses; Col. Goddard's epic march across India from Bengal to Bassein. Manoeuvres of Mahadaji Sindhia of Gwalior and Nana Phadnavis of the Poona court.

1780-84 Second Mysore war against Hyder Ali, helped by the French. Some British reverses.

1790-92 Third Mysore War against Hyder Ali's son, Tipu Sultan.

1789 Fourth Mysore War against Tipu Sultan, conquest of Mysore.

1803-05 Second Maratha War—Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) against Daulat Rao Sindhia, Jaswant Rao Holkar, Peshwa and Bhonsle, Maratha rulers intriguing against each other.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



1805 War with the Bharatpur Jats. Lord Lake failed to take Bharatpur fort, which was stormed only in 1826 by Lord Combermere.

1814-16 Hard-fought Gurkha war against Amar Singh Thapa, Nepal maintained its independence and was contained.

1817-18 Wars against Pindaris, disbanded soldiers of states defeated by the British—British success.

1818-19 Third Maratha War against Baji Rao II, Marathas defeated and Maratha homeland annexed.

1824-26 First Burmese War—leader of Burmese, Bandula, gave the British no end of trouble, but parts of Burma annexed.

1839-42 First Afghan War, against Dost Muhammad. Afghanistan conquered but abandoned.

1843 Sir Charles Napier takes Sindh from the Baluchi emirs.

1845-46 First Sikh War.

1848-49 Second Sikh War. Very hard fought, with several British reverses. But ultimate British victory. The North-West annexed.

1852 Second Burmese War—all Burma except the North and Centre under British control.

1856 Annexation of Oudh under the "Doctrine of Lapse".

Thus in 100 years the British had to fight 20 wars before India could be conquered, no mean feat of arms for people in Stage of Civilization 7 against those in Stage 9.

The conquerors followed Dupleix tactics and methods —Indians set against Indians. Their most famous commander was Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington. But there were others of his type like Ochterlony, Outram etc. There was valiant Indian resistance, spear-headed by great warriors and rulers like Hyder Ali, Tipu Sultan, Nana Phadnavis, Mahadaji Sindhia and Ranjit Singh. There were also great women rulers like Rani Bhavani of Bengal and Ahalya Bai of Indore.

Dispossessed French soldiers of fortune like de Boigne, Raymond, Pedron, Bourguin, Rene Madac etc. trained Marathas etc. to put up stiff disciplined, modern type resistance to the British. Even Ranjit Singh's famous army

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



was trained by Napoleonic veterans like Ventura, Allard, and the ferocious Avitabile. The spirit was not enough, it had to be buttressed by military science and technology.

It was this superiority in military matters which enabled swash-buckling Europeans like the Irishman George Thomas and the German Walter Reinhardt ("the Sombre") to carve out temporary empires. The Sombre One had a romantic side to him, for he married a Muslim lady, who turned Christian, and after his death ruled his kingdom as Begum "Sumroo" (from "Sombre"), from Sardhana, near Meerut, where she built a fine church. Other adventurers, operating chiefly in the South, like Paul Benfield and Sir Thomas Humbold, used their superior soldiery for enormous financial extortions from Indian Theo-Aristocrats.

Dalhousie applied the "Doctrine of Lapse" i.e. of annexing any territory whenever a ruler of an Indian State died without a natural heir, with zest and energy. In reality, in the words of S. Gopal, he was "irritated by the empty titles and ineffectual rule of the ancient sovereigns of India."[9]

It was not only the Theo-Aristocrat elite who resisted, but the peasants also. In these 100 years there were 25 peasant rebellions in Bengal.[10] Disinherited landlords, small zamindars, rack-rented peasants, dispossessed weavers are artisans all combined, but in an uncoordinated manner, against the British. The more troublesome of these revolts were the Sannyasi rebellion (1763-80) (Manju Shah, Bhawani Pathak, Devi Chaudhurani), Sandip (1769) (Abu Torap), the Wahhabi (1831) (Titu Mir), the Faraizi (1830-60) (Haji Shariatullah, Wudad Mian). Devi Chaudhurani was immortalised by the Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. She fought to the end, according to Glazier, although Bankim makes her come back to her home and immerse herself in the domestic duties of a Bengali housewife. Some tribals like the Chakmas and the Garos also rebelled. The great Santal rebellion (*hul*) of 1855-57 was primarily against the direct oppressors, the Bengali sub-rulers, Marwari and Punjabi money-lenders, and Bihari shop-keepers, and only secon-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



darily against the Rational Mercantile British Big Rulers.

Thus, in spite of all their superiority and tactics the Rational Mercantilists could not conquer the country except after overcoming bitter resistance (Conquest-Resistance).

### J. Political Transformation

(a) *Modernization of Administration*: Warren Hastings started the process of modernising Indian administration. In 1772 he shifted the capital from Murshidabad to Calcutta. He constituted a Revenue Board, introduced the system of collectors in districts and supervisory commissioners in charge of a few districts, on fixed salaries, and appointed Major Rennell to carry out a survey and mapping operation. Cornwallis (1786-93) Europeanized the higher services. He appointed Civil Courts in every district, with Circuit and Appeal Courts, all under British judges. A reformed Muslim penal code was adopted, with Muslim *qazis* and Hindu *pandits* as assessors to ensure that communal laws and wages were followed, as far as practicable.

The spirit of jurisprudence was Rational-Mercantile, not Theo-Aristocratic. Brahman and Non-Brahman, Muslim and Hindu, Zamindar and peasant were now all equal before the law, which had never been the case before, neither in theory, and still less in practice. But justice was costly, where it was formerly free, and the English had separate courts for themselves, two grave defects in the system.

Wellesley (1798-1805), an expansionist, introduced a system of 'subsidiary alliances', or of protection of Indian princely states. Thus began the system of "Native States" (which came to cover two-fifths of India), by which weak and corrupt rule was bolstered up and a vicious cycle of demoralization, further corruption and further weakening began, all for the furtherance of selfish Rational-Mercantile British interests. Bentinck (1828-35) reformed the judiciary, reversed Cornwallis' Europeanization policy and appointed Indians to high posts, and substituted Persian by the regional languages in the Courts. Macaulay's penal

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



code, drafted in 1837, was finally adopted in 1860. Dalhousie (1848-50) was the last great moderniser of this period. Administration was quickened by the railways and the post and telegraph services. He also started the methodical departmental system of working, each department under a separate officer with his own staff of subordinates. By an act of 1853 of the British Government entrance to the Covenanted Service came to be by open competition, not nomination as heretofore.

We recognise in all this the essentials of the system which we work to this day. (1974). (*Propagation—Assimilation*).

(b) *The seeds of Independence*: The Manchester Liberals, as early as the first part of the nineteenth century, began preaching Indian independence, before any Indian even thought about it. Richard Cobden wanted increasing Indian employment in government service, so that the end of British rule in India might be hastened.[11] Then there would only be 'honest trade' between Britain and India, and Indian independence would not abolish this benefit. T. C. Anstey, a Member of Parliament, declared: "The native were, nevertheless, at the very latest, quite as fit to manage their own affairs as any other people."[12] (*Propagation—Assimilation*).

(c) *Techniques of political agitation—political journalism*: The Christian missionaries had started printing presses. James August Hicky started Indian journalism in 1780 with his "Bengal Gazette". He was irreverent and irrepressible and Government seized his press in 1782. James Silk Buckingham started the "Calcutta Journal" in 1818, but his writings were so obnoxious to the authorities that he was deported in 1823. (His calibre would be evident from the fact that he started the famous literary paper, the *Atheneum* in London, which was absorbed by *The Nation* in 1921). The press then was not wholly free, and the independent minded Rational Mercantile journalists, irreverent, irrepressible, questioning, were in constant trouble with Government until the Press won and was given freedom by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1835.

Joshua Marshman and his son started Bengali journa-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



lism in the 1810's. Gangadhar Bhattacharyya's *Bengal Samachar* was the first Bengali newspaper (1816), but it lasted only two years. The *Samachar Darpan* (Mirror of News) of the Serampore missionaries lasted longer, from 1818 to 1837.

In Persian and Urdu journalism may be mentioned the official *Calcutta Gazette*, which ran a Persian column; there was the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* from Calcutta, and the *Akhbar-i-Ludhiana*—brought out by American missionaries. Mirza Raja Ali Beg Sarur had a vigorous style (*jasarat*), with which he criticised many government measures in his *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* (Lucknow).

The Parsees started Gujarati journalism, beginning with Mulla Feroz (1785-1830). In 1822 Fardunji Marzban started the *Bombay Samachar* which is the oldest regional language newspaper still existing.

These journals were progressive, after the Rational Mercantile manner, giving their readers a window-view outwards to the world-at-large. But due to the lack of a large enough Rational Mercantile type clientele they did not last long. Nevertheless, they sowed the seeds, among other things, of political journalism.

Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) was the first Indian journalist to agitate on political matters—a free press, jury rights for Indians, reduction in land taxes, Indian industrialisation, ending the commercial monopoly of the East India Company, the grievances of the Grand Moghul etc. (*Appropriation*).

(d) *Techniques of political agitation—associations*: It was a Rational-Mercantilist from abroad who taught the Indians to unite politically. George Thompson, an English radical of Calcutta, urged the alumni of the new Hindu College, teaching modern knowledge in English, to organise themselves politically. So, in 1843, the Bengal British Indian Society was founded, the "aristocracy of intelligence", as distinct from the "aristocracy of wealth", already organised in the Landholders' Association. The society was merged in the British Indian Association, the first united front of politically minded educated Indians.[13] (*Propagation—Assimilation*).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



## K. Transformation in Science and Technology

Sir William Jones started the Asiatic Society at Calcutta in 1784, not only for "Oriental learning", but also for investigations in scientific fields. Arabinda Poddar says in his authoritative *Renaissance in Bengal—Quests and Confrontations* (Simla, 1970, p. 219) that "whatever original contributions were made in the field of Asian geology, meteorology, zoology, botany etc, were done at the instance of and through its agency".

The Calcutta Botanical Gardens was founded at Sibpur in 1788 by Col. Alexander Kyd, leading to the establishment of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India in 1820. The Calcutta Medical College came into existence in 1836 and the Bombay Medical College in 1845. The Calcutta School of Industrial Arts was founded in 1854. The urge in all these cases was mainly British Rational-Mercantile. Thus, the first slow, halting steps towards Scientific Progress was taken. These did not have much effect on Theo-Aristocratic Indians. The native (Hindu) effort to propagate a scientific frame of mind will be dealt with in Section O. (*Propagation*).

Dalhousie (1848-56) was a young man of 36 when he came out as governor-general. He was dynamic, hard-driving, in constant pain all the time. He tried to pull out India from the Theo-Aristocratic stage to the Rational-Mercantile one. Railways were started. To build and repair bridges and roads he instituted the Public Works Department, and opened a college at Roorkee to train engineers. The P. W. D. built, among other things, the Grand Ganges Canal, and other canals running over 18,000 miles. Dalhousie also instituted the electric telegraph. (*Propagation*).

Of the Indians only the Theo-Mercantile Parsees, with their craft and business traditions, were really excited by all this. They ventured into modern industry. Ardeshir Cursetjee, the first Indian member of the Royal Society (1841), was a mechanical engineer and ship-builder of repute. The first spinning and weaving mill was started by Framji Banaji in Bombay in 1845. The first steam cotton-spinning

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



factory was opened by Cowasjee Davar in Bombay in 1854. (*Appropriation*).

Wherever Theo-Aristocratic Indians could mix with Rational Mercantile men from abroad in somewhat equal terms the ideas of the latter spread, provided they were not too few in number. Lucknow was such a focus, although a very small one; as Abdullah Yusuf Ali makes clear in his excellent *A Cultural History of India during the British period* (Bombay, 1940, p. 168). The king of Oudh, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder (1814-27) patronised European art as well as Oriental philology. He talked about steam engines (1824), and a new way of propelling ships by a spiral wheel at the bottom of the vessel, which an English engineer of his day had invented. He had a taste for mechanics and chemistry. Foreigners and foreign fashions and experimentations were welcome in the Court of Wajid Ali Shah (1847-56). But after Oudh was acquired in 1856 there were only the Rational-Mercantile rulers, few in number, with their immense technical-military superiority, surrounded by a vast multitude of subordinates in the Theo-Aristocratic Stage, and its dust and haze and gloom settled all round. (*Abortive Appropriation*).

## L. Transformation of the Economy

(a) *Nature of the Rational-Mercantile Man*: We have seen that although Rational-Mercantile man stresses reason, there is also emphasis on self-interest. This conflicts with his democratic idealism. We have seen, not only in the Manchester Liberals, but also in administrators like Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Bentinck, Metcalfe and Dalhousie, a democratic idealism in administration. In the sphere of economics we see clear, cold-eyed, calculating reason and selfishness.

(b) *Change in Land Relations*: Following Rational-Mercantile English law, land was made a saleable, mortgageable and alienable property in the time of Cornwallis. In the past, whatever was the theory, in practice the zamindar and the peasant were rarely dispossessed although they were beaten and humiliated. Land being saleable, very soon a new collaborator class of landowners

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



was brought into existence, whether the revenue settlement was *zamindari* (landlord based), *ryotwari* (peasant-proprietor) or *mahalwari* (village or estate-based). The peasants, now subject to an English law of which they knew nothing, instead of customary law, became totally subject to the mercy of the *zamindar*. In effect, the peasant became the *zamindar's* tenant-at-will. The village communes were destroyed, and the complicated system of tenancy laws and the multiple system of intermediaries made the peasants fall into the clutches of money-lenders.[14] In the *zamindari* areas the Europeanisation of services of Cornwallis led to the squires having no say in revenue, judicial and police matters. Shorn of status, they whiled away their time at Calcutta and other big cities, mainly in lecheries and debaucheries, oblivious of their duties in their estates, where they now had no more any effective power. And as this powerlessness continued even after Bentinck's reforms, the position did not change and the *zamindars* of the Lower Gangetic Valley became absentee landlords. (*Conquest or Imposition*).

(c) *Shaking the Pagoda Tree*: The selfishness of Rational-Mercantile Man made him predatory in pecuniary matters. He tore at the vitals of the less developed society thus:—(i) with the help of native colleagues the artisans were subjected to the severest extortions and bled white; (ii) then Rational-Mercantile British Machine-made goods, specially textiles, drove Indian goods into the corner, and so de-industrialised India; (iii) commercial crops like tea, indigo, opium, some specimens of cotton etc. were introduced in 'plantations', making India a source of raw materials; (iv) there was an economic drain out of India, providing part of the finances of the British Industrial Revolution.

Slavery was also abolished by the Rational-Mercantilists, and roads, railways, posts and telegraphs etc. started. This led to a general bettering of the economic position, but the net effect was still only of an economic drain from India. (*Imposition*).

(d) *Agency Houses*: Some of the Company's servants left its employment for mercantile careers, and founded

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



"agency houses", money-lending businesses, in the main towns. Individual Europeans could not still own land in India, nor set up trading or business establishments in the interior. Hence, they had to have Indian fronts. The financing business was specially lucrative in regard to the new commercial crops like indigo and opium. The Agency Houses financed both the Company as well as private British individuals. There were Agency Houses like Palmer & Co., Alexander & Co., Fergusson & Co., etc., and banks proper like the Bank of Bengal, the Union Bank, the Bank of Western India etc.[15] The Indian partners were mainly Bengalis and Parsees, and some Marwaris—the Jagat Seths, Arjunji Nathjis, Dwarkanath Tagore, Rustomji Cowasji and many similar others. Dwarkanath Tagore did business in indigo, sugar, and coal, apart from banking, and was a partner in the then famous firm of Carr Tagore and Co. The extent of the collaboration of Indians with foreign Rational Mercantile men is proved by the huge properties left by the former, of which a few examples are given here.[16] Maharaja Nanda Kumar left Rs. 25 lakhs (1775); Maharaja Nobkissen, about Rs. 1 crore; Raja Durlabhram, Rs. 52 lakhs (1770); Ramdulal Dey (who had American business partners), Rs. 1 crore 23 lakhs (1825); Nemycharan Mullick, Rs. 80 lakhs (1807); Pran Krishna Biswas, Rs. 45 lakhs; and so on. An archetype is Ram Doolal Dey, who started life as a ship *sarkar* on Rs. 5 per month. By speculation and shrewd business sense he built up a huge shipping and foreign trade business, cultivating specially America. Once he wanted to corner broadcloth and sugar, but his wife opposed him, as such manipulation would have meant suffering for Brahmans. Ram Doolal Dey desisted, for he had a superstitious reverence for Brahmans. Although he gave Rs. 30,000 for the modernising Hindu College, he spent Rs. 2 lakhs to recover caste for a friend[17]—a significant indicator of the beliefs of men like himself.

But the Agency Houses over-speculated, and there were many crashes—for instance of the famous house of Carr Tagore. With this, and with individual Europeans being granted the right to own lands and businesses (1837),

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Indian fronts were not necessary, and Victorian Bengal came to be dominated by the scions of merchant houses turned lawyers, government officials, doctors and teachers. Even Bengali-ised Marwaris, like Raja Siva Prasad of Benares, a grand-nephew of the last Jagat Seth ("World Banker") of Murshidabad, became a civil servant. (*Reconciliation*).

(e) *The prosperity of the commercial classes*: (i) *Parsees*—The Parsees, with their craft and business traditions, continued in their commercial avocations. They were the chief collaborators of the British in West India. They had come from Persia to India on account of their refusal to abjure Zoroastrianism for Islam. They were very small in numbers, without any hopes of grandeur as landed magnates. They concentrated, therefore, on commerce and became a Theo-Mercantile people. Surrounded by peoples with many different religions the intensity of their 'theo' element weakened, although the in-group feeling remained specially strong. They were in a particularly favourable position, therefore, to imbibe Rational Mercantile ideas and practices (the next higher stage), which they did avidly. As far back as the eighteenth century, Lowji Nusserwanji (1736-74) was building ships not only for the East India Company, but also for the British Royal Navy.[18] He built ships for Muscat also. Jamsetji Bomanji also built ships for the British navy, and his Bombay-built H. M. S. Salsette was the only one, out of many built elsewhere, which escaped shipwreck from the Baltic Sea ice in the winter of 1808-09.[19]

The Parsees engaged in overseas trade; Hirji Ready-money was the first to go to China from India, in 1786.[20] Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, Jehangir Korsetji, Nowrojee Sorabjee etc. had business interests stretching from Bombay to Canton, with Calcutta as an important intermediate point.[21] Rustomji Cowasji was closely associated with Dwarkanath Tagore. When the bank crashes of the 1830's and 1840's came the overseas trading interests, cotton and Rational Mercantile mentality of the Parsees saved them from the plight of the Bengalis, with narrow commercial interests, and basically Theo-Aristocratic minds (the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Bengali merchants spent fantastic sums on temples, bathing ghats, *pujas,* religious ceremonies etc.[22] Like Rational Mercantile men elsewhere the Parsees took to industry, as has been stated in Section K.

(ii) *Sindhis, Marwaris, Gujaratis*—The other commercial peoples of India, Sindhis, Marwaris, Gujaratis, Chettis, Khojas, Borahs etc. plied their inland trade and continued to pile up wealth from extensive money-lending transactions, helped by railways, the electric telegraph and *Pax Brittannica.* The Sindhis, disobeying Hindu priestly injunctions against sea-voyages, engaged in coastal trade. The Theo-Mercantile Jain Marwaris, less superstitious than the Theo-Aristocratic Hindus, were to be found as far distant as the Central Asian and Caspian Sea regions, as the researches of Madame Antonova have shown.[23] By 1827 they were also operating in a big way in Calcutta,[24] although their great days were still to come. So were they for the Gujaratis, who were just then, in the 1840's, coming into eminence in modern commerce by way of the cotton trade, partly due to Manchester's quest for cotton within the Empire.[25]

(f) *The economic drain to Britain*—The American, Brooks Adams, was probably the first eminent historian to propound the theory that Plassey financed the British Industrial Revolution.[26] This was pure loot. The drain continued in the form of:—(i) remittances to England by European employees for family support; (ii) remittances of savings of British employees and merchants; (iii) remittances for purchases of foreign consumption goods; (iv) government purchases of stores manufactured in Britain; (v) interest charges on public debt held in Britain, excluding interest payments on debts incurred for productive works.

Dadabhai Naoroji, calculated that between 1814 and 1865 the drain was of the order of £ 350 million.[27] Thus India paid through the nose for her slight modernisation. (*Conquest or Imposition*).

## M. TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

(a) *Changes in Class Composition*—The class composition of this period has been given in Section G under

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



"Configurational Dynamics". The Rational-Mercantilists created new zamindars and sustained old ones and princes; their actions brought into existence the urban professional classes or "intelligentsia", at this point mainly clerks, with some lawyers, doctors and business managers. But the number was small. They grew up as auxiliaries of the Rational Mercantile rulers, who were themselves very few in India. In 1852, outside the Army, there were only 6000 male Europeans, 2,000 in the Company's employ, largely concentrated in the major towns.[28] These Rational Mercantile men got their collaborators largely from the existing top classes, like the Brahmans. The Muslim-Indians generally held aloof.[29] Thus, in Bengal in the nineteenth century out of the 200 odd prominent people mentioned by Harihar Seth, about 25% were Brahmans, 40% their hangers-on, the Kayasthas, 10% Vaidyas, and the balance 25% the rest—Parsees, Muslims, other non-Bengalis, and Bengalis of other groups besides the three *bhadralok* (gentlemen) classes mentioned.[30] Territorially, the Rational-Mercantilist British had as their collaborators the top men of the whole Gangetic Valley, the Deccan, Madras and the West Coast. (*Imposition*).

(b) *Injections of Humanism and rationalism*—Both Theo-Mercantile and Rational-Mercantile men were ardent advocates of certain urgent social reforms. Pressed by them, and their Indian colleagues like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Bentick abolished the horrible custom of *sati* or *suttee* in 1829. *Thugee,* banditry allied with religious fanaticism, indulged in largely by the disbanded soldiers of the "pacified" native states, was suppressed by Sir William Sleeman through an arduous campaign over eight years, 1829-37. Human sacrifice among the Khonds, a tribe living in Orissa, known as *meriah,* was abolished in 1854. Slavery had been universal in the 18th century, and the Portuguese, French and British had themselves engaged in slave trade "as a highly profitable concern". Europeans themselves kept slaves. It was only slowly that slavery was abolished, through a series of Acts in 1807, 1811, 1832, 1843 and finally in 1860. The Rational Mercantilists also put a stop to practices like female infanticide and throwing

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



children into the sea at Sagar Island in fulfilment of vows. All these reform measures must have contributed to the simmering which led to the violent upheavals of 1857. (*Imposition*).

(c) *Remarriage of Hindu widows*—The only social reform measure which owes its origin to an Indian is that relating to the remarriage of Hindu widows (1856), moved by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. He had to fight orthodox opinion tooth and nail for this. (*Appropriation*).

(d) *Reconciliation in Daily Life*—We have seen in the last chapter that Indian food habits had crept into English life in Calcutta. The hubble-bubble, or *hookah*, made life pleasant in those leisurely and spacious days. Heat reducing devices had necessarily to be invented to reconcile the men from a temperate climate to the rigours of a sub-tropical one—bamboo strips or *tatties*, used as curtains ; *khus khus tatties* wetted with water ; the manually operated swinging fan or *punkah ;* and enormous houses with lofty classical piazzas, where the scorching strength of the hot afternoon sun was mitigated by immense Venetian blinds.

The *nautch* or dance by Indian dancing girls was much admired by the men, but not at all by white women, now coming to India in greater numbers.[31] The refined French traveller, De Jacquemont, could still say in the 1820's that he appreciated the *nautch* but that it was best liked by those who had forgotten European musical time.

Then there was the concubinage—the *zenana*. This was then quite normal.[32] And even until about 1800 there was no public opinion against these irregular unions.[33] The light-coloured children were sent to England, where it was said at one time that one boy in ten in the schools was coloured.[34]

The rich Theo-Mercantile Parsees now adopted the style of living of the next higher stage, West European (British) rational mercantile.

(e) *Absorption of caste-ideas by the Conquerors*—The Theo-Aristocratic West Europeans had had quite a rigid class system which the Rational-Mercantilists could never get completely rid off. Now they were exposed to the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



rigid Hindu Theo-Aristocratic caste atmosphere and succumbed, to some extent, to its pervasive influence.[35] The following classes came into existence:—(i) Civilian officials; (ii) Military men; (iii) Professionals—lawyers, doctors, engineers, chaplains etc.; (iv) Merchants and shop-keepers; (v) Domiciled Europeans, Eurasians and Indian Christians.

The civilian officials regarded the soldiers as foolhardy wine-bibbers, the soldier the officials as industrious quill-drivers, office recluses who had only pride to cover up their lack of touch with reality. The civilians were less of Philistines than the soldiers. A shade of difference existed between the officers of Indian and European regiments. The professionals, middle class people, were the most cultured of the lot, but in style of life they were copies of the officials. The European "shop-keepers" were few, and when officials ceased to trade, the gulf between the latter and the 'box-wallah' widened rapidly.

The Domiciled Europeans consisted largely of time-expired soldiers turned tavern-keepers or small shop-keepers, of European servants who had set up on their own, sailors and craftsmen who had drifted to Calcutta, Bombay etc. and had remained behind. They intermarried with the Eurasian community (British-Indian crosses) and were in close touch with it. Few of the Eurasians had mothers from well-established families, and the original unions were largely irregular, except for cases like those of Skinner and Hearsey, who married Muslim or Rajput ladies of "good family".[36] Up to about 1800 colour prejudice was not very strong, and the lighter-skinned Eurasians "passed" into the Domiciled European community, and if exceptionally lucky, into the British community in England itself. It is thus quite possible that some of the racialists in Britain today, with past Indian connections may, on deep probing, prove to be "coloured"!

## N. TRANSFORMATION IN RELIGION

(a) *Apparent failure of Christianity*: Clive, Warren Hastings and men like them were Rational-Mercantilists, not Christian ideologues. But there was a positive school

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of Christianisers from the 1830's led by no less a person than Charles Grant himself, Chairman of the Court of Directors. They either represented Theo-Mercantile opinion, which intersected with the Rational Mercantile in West Europe or the 'Democratic' side of the 10th stage, Scientific-Democratic, which had a religious element to it. The pendulum had a swung to the other extreme from the Company policy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when it was, indeed, called the "Dry Nurse of Vishnu", as Company officers managed many temples and administered their funds; and Company troops, with military bands, went in procession on festive and other occasions to the temple of Kali in Calcutta and to other non-Christian places, to offer worship on behalf of the rulers from abroad. Said Bishop Heber in 1826, indignantly, that "we are in matters of religion the most lukewarm and cowardly people in the world."[37]

The Christianisers were successful in stopping all this and there was a bout of intense Christianising activity, represented by such upright and respected figures like Alexander Duff in Calcutta and John Wilson in Bombay. Yet the ostensible results were very poor. By 1851 there were only 90,000 Protestant Christian, and about 200,000 of all denominations,[38] excluding Goans and Syrian Christians. Partly this was so because of the indifference of most Englishmen in India, mostly Rational-Mercantilists at heart. Besides, India was not new ground, it had well-entrenched Hindu and Muslim faiths with close-knit cellular organisations, filled by people well-versed in how to handle their flocks. The Christian preachers were also not St. Francises of Assissi, but Theo-Mercantile men who lived comparatively well. Perhaps ascetic Theo-Aristocratic Europe would have had a much better chance, say in the 11th-12th centuries, of converting India to Christianity. One-fourth of Kerala had been so converted, much earlier, and Islam had gained the allegiance of over a quarter of India. The missionaries also erred in insisting that the Indian Christians cut off their roots from India all at once—they had to have English names, wear European clothes, eat beef, drink liquor openly, and in all ways

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



identify themselves with the conquerors. This created, not unnaturally, intense resentment, and persistent opposition.

But in a larger sense, Christianity did not fail, as Buddhism had not. The values of a Rational-Mercantile Christianity, and later of Scientific-Democratic Christianity were appropriated, consciously and unconsciously, as we shall see, by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Dayananda, Swami Vivekananda and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his followers. As Late Hinduism had appropriated some Buddhist ideas, Neo-Hunduism, as we shall see, was influenced in a great measure by Christianity. (*Propagation*).

(b) *Ram Mohan Roy's Universal Church fails*: Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) was a most extraordinary and great man, to say the least. His ancestors were *neogi* ("user") type Bengali Brahmans, rather than *shastris* ("scripture men"), serving the Murshidabad *nawads*. So he was trained in both Persian and Arabic at Patna, at an early age, before he went to Benares for his Sanskrit studies. From the Patna *maulvis* he learned to hate idolatry. At Benares he became a passionate Vedantist. Back home to his village, he was out of place, and soon made his way to Tibet, picking up knowledge about Guru Nanak, Kabir and Dadu en route. He was against man worship, *lama* worship, and for daring to criticise *lamas* he nearly lost his life, and was saved only by the kindness of a Tibetan woman.[39] Miss Mary Carpenter attributes his high respect for womanhood and deep confidence in womankind to this incident, which he always remembered with gratitude.[40] He returned to Benares, and earned his living by copying manuscripts. His alienation from his family worked on him, and all through his life "the frowning feature of his father would rise unbidden in his imagination".[41] He learnt English at about the age of 22 or 24, and entered the service of the East India Company under John Digby, who liked him and took him wherever he went. He became a money-lender and share-broker also, his clients being mainly Europeans, and by 1810 he had six estates and was a man of considerable social standing.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



He lived like a European, and ate and drank with Europeans.[42]

His father died in 1808 and his elder brother in 1811, making him the head of the joint family. This was opposed by his strong-minded, orthodox and pious mother, and he became involved in a law-suit with her. He won, but did not press his claim to the estate. His elder brother's wife, Alakmanjari, to whom he was much attached, was forced to commit *suttee,* and all his attempts to save her failed. He vowed to end *suttee* and was one of the constant propagandists against it.

He retired from the Company's service in 1815, when Digby sailed back to England, but continued to live in European style in Calcutta. Fanny Parkes saw him during this period and said that "everything was fitted out in European fashion except the owner."[43] Naturally, orthodox people vilified him. He had already written books in Persian, in 1803, attacking idolatry (*Tuhfat-ul-Muwahiddin* —A Gift to Monotheists), and on comparative religion (*Manazarat-ul-Adiyan*—Discussions on various religions). Now he wrote in English on the Vedanta and Jesus Christ, and in Bengali on the Upanishads. He preached the Unity of the Godhead, assailed the Hindu belief in many gods, image worship, and rituals. He really wanted to reform Hinduism but went beyond this aim and discarded the Son of God and Prophet concepts in his writings, thus evoking the ire of Muslims and Christians also. He was virulently against caste, polygamy and *suttee,* and was in favour of English as the medium of education. He was in the forefront of public and social movements of his time, for a free press, jury rights, reduction of land taxes, industrialisation etc. He started a discussion society, the *Atmiya Sabha* ("Society of Kindred Souls") in 1815, and a Bengali journal, *Sambad Kaumudi* ("Moonlight of News") in 1819 to propagate his views. For his 'Reformed Hinduism' (shades of Martin Luther—this was the First Indian Cultural Revolution) he preached the doctrine—*lokahit koray jei jon shei jon sevichey Ishwar* ('he who does good to others serves God'). But he went beyond this. He started a 'Unitary Church' along with a Christian clergy-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


man, the Rev. William Adam (1820). But he regarded Jesus Christ as a great man, not the Son of God, and visualised "a gradual transition from the old obscurantist Church to a society without a Church",[44] which is clearly Rational-Mercantile doctrine. His activities aroused the wrath of Christian missionaries like Marshman of Serampore, and Bishop Heber spoke out strongly against him and other "deistical Brahmans". The Rev. William Adam withdrew his support and the experiment of the Unitarian Church thus ended. (*Abortive Transmutation*).

(c) *Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj—The First Indian Cultural Revolution*: Ram Mohan Roy then founded another organisation, the Brahmo Samaj ("Society of Brahma") in Feringhee ("Frank", i.e. free-thinker and free-liver) Kamal Bose's house in 1828. The Trust Deed drawn up in 1830 said that the purpose of the Samaj was "the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe". No images or sacrifices were allowed, although only a Brahman at first chanted the Vedas (members of no other caste knew these) to the mixed congregation of all castes from an adjoining room, separated by a screen from the main chamber, as no orthodox Vedic pandit in those days would read aloud the texts of the Vedas to anybody but Brahmans. Thus the worship was congregational, departing from Hindu practice. The sacred texts were explained in the profane language, Bengali. Christian devotional hymns in Bengali were sung by Brahmans, with musical accompaniment by Muslims. Christian Eurasians sang the psalms of David. The Samaj service was thus, basically Christian in inspiration. Ram Mohan had only two years for his preaching, for in 1830 he was made a Raja by Akbar II, the Grand Mogul, and sent to England as his ambassador. He died at Bristol in 1833 and was buried at Arno's Vale Cemetry, and not cremated, although he still had his Brahmanic sacred thread on. A hundred years later his admirers erected a Rajput style canopy (*chhatri*) over his grave.

Ram Mohan thus started the First Indian Cultural Revolution—Hindu Religious Reformation. The influence

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of Digby on him must have been very great. His friend, Kissory Chand Mitter, called him a "religious Benthamite".[45] In his religious spectrum there was Pauranic Hinduism at one end, then the Reformed Hinduism which he wanted through the Brahmo Samaj, then Christianity, then the Universal Religion which was his real goal, the Religion of Humanism and Creative Altruism. This thesis fits in, on the one hand, with his support to Christian missionaries like Alexander Duff, and his testimony before the British Parliament in 1832 that he visualised a union between two free and "Christian" countries—Britain and India;[46] and on the other, his refusal to be converted to Christianity. He dressed like a Muslim nobleman, his favourite term was *biradari* ("brotherhood"), he was life-loving, fond of eating, drinking and good music, and had considerable taste in dress and clothing. He was a voracious eater, could eat a whole kid at one meal, and used to drink 12 kilos of milk every day and take, in season, 50 mangoes for his "tiffin".[47] He was an internationalist, knew Bengali, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Urdu and French; and while applying for a French passport to visit France he declared "all mankind are one great family of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only branches."[48]

He could not put his ideas into practice, as he was in India for only two years after he founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. Nor perhaps could he have succeeded if he had stayed on, as the elite, not to say the "masses", were not prepared for such advanced views as he held. But since he appropriated Christian ideas and practices to reform Hinduism, fusing them with gleanings from the Upanishads and the Vedanta, this new intermediate religion, half-way between Rational Humanism (or "Radical Humanism") and a Theo-Aristocratic religion, found favour with his immediate successors in the Brahmo Samaj. His mantle fell on the shoulders of Maharshi ("Great Seer") Debendra Nath Tagore, son of the Merchant-prince, free-thinking, free-spending Dwarka Nath Tagore, and the personality of the Maharshi, bearded, austere, stern, fused with the image of Ram Mohan Roy as the founder of the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Brahmo Samaj. For, Debendra Nath was nearer to Hinduism, to Theo-Aristocracy, than Ram Mohan was. Hence the immediate appeal of the Brahmo Samaj to the new elite of Bengal, who may have well fought shy of Ram Mohan, as they did repudiate Derozio, as we shall see. But, with a new end-image, that really of Debendra Nath, Ram Mohan, the Crusader against the Religious Establishment, became the Founding Father of a New Religious Establishment, although his ultimate end had obviously been quite different—the foundation of Rational Humanism.

The membership lists of the Adi Brahmo Samaj ("Original Brahmo Samaj") reveal that the members were middle class intelligentsia, merchants and the new zamindars as against the old zamindars and the superstitious peasantry.[49] The Brahmo Samaj grew by leaps and bounds, chiefly in Bengal, but also elsewhere. From one Samaj in 1828 the number increased to 197 Samajes in 1895.[50] The Adi Brahmo Samaj, under Debendra Nath, and the younger section led by the rationalist Akshay Kumar Datta prevented the spread of Christian proselytism, and brought back the English-educated youth, blindly imitating bourgeois Derozean ways, to a safer Theo-Mercantile course. It thus ensured some progress with much stability, which suited the New Bengal, where Rational Mercantile traders from abroad had no longer any need for Bengali fronts, thus allowing the educated ones among them to follow less risky and zestful lines than in the Agency Houses, as zamindars, doctors, teachers, clerks and officials. (*Appropriation*).

### O. Cultural Transformation—A Rich Medley

(a) *Reassertion*: *Reassertion of old values and themes in literature and ideology*: Old values continued to be dealt with in literature, regardless of the presence of the Rational-Mercantile man. This may well be considered to be in the nature of "reassertion". Thus, in Bengali, Ram Prasad Sen (d. 1775) addressed fervent hymns to Kali; Bharat Chandra Roy (1712-60) wrote about Durga; many Muslim-Bengali writers of the 18th century, like Hayat Muhammad of Rangpur, continued to write on

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the popular Karbala theme, the martyrdom of Hasan and Hussain; Ram-ram Basu extolled (1801) the bravery of Pratap-aditya of Jessore, who resisted Man Singh and his Mughals and Rajputs—this was done in print, thanks to the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, like William Carey; Raja Radha Kanta Dev (1793-1867) was a conscious Sanskritiser.

In Hindi old Pauranic themes constituted the subject matter of the writings of Sadasukh Lal, Lalluji Lal and Sadal Misra, at the turn of the nineteenth century.

This was a vigorous period for Urdu literature, which flourished in Delhi and Lucknow. Mir Taqi Mir (1720-1808) wrote elegant and passionate *marsiyas,* elegies on the Karbala tragedy, as well as on the sorrows and sufferings of life; Sauda (1713-80) wrote satires and elegies, Mir Dard (1719-85) Sufi religious lyrics; Inshah Allah Khan (d. 1817), humorous sketches; Anis (1802-74) and Dabir (1803-75), *marsiyas,* in Lucknow; Zauq (1789-1854), of Delhi, *qasidas;* Dagh (1831-1905), of Delhi, *ghazals;* and above all the great Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869), a *Sufi,* writing in both Persian and Urdu, a man of broad human sympathies in the *sufi* tradition. Of ideologues may be mentioned Saiyid Ghulam Hussain Khan Tabatabai, author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakkherin* (1783), dealing with late Mughal rule and the progress of British rule in Bengal up to 1780; he is completely free from prejudices, and makes no distinction between Hindu and Muslim. Several things about British rule amazed him, among them being[51]—charging fees from litigants; slowness of procedures; the exorbitant powers given to *zamindars,* who misabused them to oppress tenants; and the prejudicial working of the law against the poor and the ignorant. Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur (d. 1873), working largely in East Bengal, wrote against non-Islamic practices in the *umma;* but he was also broad-minded enough to study the influence of the Greeks and the Arabs on the European Renaissance.[52]

The Assamese continued to write their historical chronicles—the *buranjis. Shakta* literature had a revival. It was associated with the rulers while the "masses" were

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



imbued with Vaishnavism. King Shiva-Simha (1714-44) praised the Mother Goddess in his *Ananda Lahari.*

In Marathi, chronicle-writing—the *bakhars*—continued, the greatest of the chroniclers being Malhar Ramrao Chitnis. Sanskritisation continued. *Sita-Swayamvara* of Vishnu Amrit Bhave (1841) was the first modern Marathi drama.

In Kashmiri, Mahmud Gami (d. 1855) wrote on Perso-Arabic themes like Yusuf-Zulaikha and Pandit Nandarama (or Paramananda) "Gharib" (d. 1819) on Puranic themes.

The Great Tyagaraja (d. 1848), living in Tanjore, composed devotional songs in Telugu, the pride of the repertoire of Karnataka music. *Tikas* and *yakshaganas* continued in the Karnataka country, their greatest exponent being Santayya (19th century). In the Kerala country Kunchan Nampiyar gave a great fillip to the *Tullal* dance drama based on Mahabharata and Pauranic themes. And in Tamil, Oppallamani Pullavar (d. 1849) wrote on Shaivite Philosophy and Saravana Perumal Ayyar and T. Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai edited classical Tamil texts.

Thus, writing continued on the old Theo-Aristocratic themes, and only the Muslim-Indians, erstwhile rulers, writing in Urdu, noted the march of the Rational-Mercantile British and tried to assess what is meant.

(b) *Propagation—Assimilation*: (i) *Foreign missionaries establish printing presses and start the development of Indian prose literature.* In the Theo-Aristocratic Hindu, Brahmans had kept their lore secret. In the Theo-Aristocratic Muslim, with its Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile inheritance, knowledge was no longer secret, but the copying of Persian and Arabic manuscripts by calligraphists and their circulation could still cater to only a restricted clientele. The printing press of Theo-Mercantile and Rational-Mercantile Man democratised learning, and favoured the development of prose, instead of the erstwhile poetry, which was essential for books to be learnt by heart. Initially the printing press and prose literature both were brought into existence by Theo-Mercantile Christian missionaries, eager to popularise the Bible in the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



regional languages, but once prose styles came into existence the printing press was used for other purposes as well.

In Bengali, the first prose work was Manoel da Assumpcao's *Kripar Sastrer Arthabheda* (Exposition of the Gospel of Mercy, Lisbon, 1743). Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, in 1778, printed the first Bengali grammar at Hooghly. At Fort William College in Calcutta, from 1799 onwards, John Gilchrist fostered the development of Hindi, Urdu and Bengali prose. The Serampore missionaries of the early nineteenth century, like Carey, Marshman and Ward, gave a fillip to the development of Hindi, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Marathi prose. The Sibsagar missionaries, Nathan Brown and Miles Bronson, from 1836 onwards, developed Assamese. In Marathi, Padre Thomas Stephen (Estevao) had printed the *Khrista-Purana* in the *ovi* metre, but in the Roman script, as far back as 1616. Mountstuart Elphinstone encouraged Marathi and Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Gujarati (from 1848). Punjabi was established only as late as 1915 at the Lahore College, with indigenous effort, which had also been the cause of the development of Kashmiri prose in the second half of the nineteenth century—with Abdul Wahhab Paro. Sindhi prose literature came into existence only from 1843. Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada prose was developed by missionaries, and in the case of the last, the services of Kittel, Lewis Rice and Fleet in the 19th century had been particularly outstanding. Tamil prose came into existence with the magic touch of Roberto de Nobili as early as the 17th century, and early in the 18th century came Ziengenblag's Tamil grammar and C. Beschi's *Tembavani* ("The Unfailing Garland").

Thus, the Theo-Mercantile Christian missionaries can be stated to have either directly, or indirectly, started Indian prose literature in the regional languages. And of these, the pride of place goes to William Carey and his band of Baptist missionaries with their printing presses tit-tatting away ceaselessly at Serampore in Bengal.

(ii) *English as medium of higher education : claim of Urdu : claim of the Regional Languages.* The lower rank

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of Bengali officials, the *amla,* wanted to know English to get promotions, and they wanted their sons to learn this language of opportunity and advancement. To cater to their needs various private schools and societies came into existence, starting with the Calcutta School Book Society in 1817. The wife of the governor-general, the Marchioness of Hastings, herself prepared several elementary works.[53] David Hare's name is famous in this connection. He was a watch-maker by profession, not a learned man, but his unassuming manners, his kindness and friendliness, and the way he mixed freely with all sections of Indians in Calcutta made him very popular and effective. The Hindu College (later Presidency College) was founded in 1817 to impart Western learning. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was loud in his demand for English as the medium of instruction—for the study of Western arts and sciences.[54] One group, led by the "Orientalists", like H. H. Wilson, wanted to encourage the traditional Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic schools and colleges and to modernise their teaching. But the Christianisers wanted English, the Radicals (Rational-Mercantile men) wanted English, the *amlas* wanted English, the Company wanted English to get a good and continuous supply of clerks and officials for their ever-expanding activities. Macaulay, the Law Member, in his famous Minute of 1835 stated, *inter alia* :—

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern ; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

We Indians have rightly resented Macaulay's arrogant, racialist tone, but the immediate passage cited above is also noble and full of idealism, and if instead of "English" and "Western" the word "Rational Mercantile" is

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



substituted then the objection should vanish. What Macaulay had desired has come to pass, and it is well that it has been so, or else we should have continued largely in the lower Theo-Aristocratic Stage. Macaulay's brother-in-law, Charles Trevelyan, shared his idealism, and may be taken as the arche-type of the liberal, educating, Rational Mercantile man from abroad. Said he, enthusiastically[55]:

> A new class of teachers will be trained; books in the vernacular language will be multiplied; and with these accumulated means we shall in due time proceed to extend our operation from town to country, from the few to the many, until every hamlet shall be provided with its elementary school.... ..... Trained by us to happiness and independence and endowed with our learning and political institutions, India will remain the proudest monument of British benevolence; and we shall long continue to reap, in the affectionate attachment of the people, and in a great commercial intercourse with their splendid country, the fruit of that liberal and enlightened policy, which suggested to us this line of action.

Bentinck accepted Macaulay's arguments and the policy to make English the medium of higher education was announced in a brief resolution, dated 7th March, 1835.

The Bentinck-Macaulay scheme of English as the medium of instruction found its culmination in the system arising out of the Wood Despatch to London of 1854. It was a symmetrical design, leading from graded vernacular village schools, through Anglo-Vernacular schools, and high schools, to colleges and universities. Departments of Public Instruction were created in 1855, and Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857. This is basically the system which we have today, amplified manifold.

In Bombay Presidency the Parsees had English schools of their own, largely due to the munificence of merchants like Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. But otherwise the demand was not much, and by 1850 there were only ten government-aided or government schools, with about 2,000 pupils. In

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Madras, even by 1854 there were only three such institutions. Even more resistant was Bihar where the Muslim landlords opposed English, and even as late as 1858 the Patna office of the inspector of schools was known as 'the devil's counting house.'[56] In 1854 there were 17,360 pupils being educated at government expense in all parts of British India, 13,699 Hindus, 1636 Muslims and 236 Christians.[57] A large chunk was in Bengal, as it was the centre of British operations in India, the Rational Mercantile impact was most deeply felt there (as we shall see). Hindu orthodoxy was the least strong, and the Bengalis saw the immense advantage of learning English and spreading as sub-rulers and professional men to Bihar, Orissa, Assam, and the North-West Province.

John Gilchrist had proposed, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, that Hindustani be made the *lingua franca* of India. Abdullah Yusuf Ali thinks that if this had been done "we should have today a vernacular language of common intercourse throughout India."[58]

All the arguments, however, point against Urdu and the Regional languages. The proud Brahmans had largely held aloof from Arabic and Persian. Would they have learnt Urdu, in the Perso-Arabic script, when the Muslim-Indian was no longer the master ? And would the British have stood up for it, to learn either Urdu or Regional languages ?

The Osmania University experiment during the Nizam's days, in the 20th century, of having Urdu as the medium of instruction failed. So did Hindi in Banaras University. So have Asian languages in various parts of Asia, except Japanese, and Chinese after the Maoist take-over. Japan was a Rational-Mercantile society, as we have seen earlier in this chapter. And Maoist China is a Scientific-Democratic one. The truth is that "modern education" is part of the Scientific-Democratic Values-and-Institutions Package. In languages and milieus replete with Pauranic Hinduism or Koranic orthodoxy 'modern education' will always be a hot-house plant.

(iii) *Female education*: A figure similar to David Hare was John Drinkwater Bethune, who suffered severe

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



humiliations in his quest of "female education". It is due to his more or less single-handed efforts (aided by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar) that the Bethune School for Girls was founded in 1849 at Calcutta. But it had to face difficult days indeed. The young girl students were shouted at and abused, and their parents boycotted socially. Some gave out that educated women would lose their husbands, and others that the girls who had received Western education would make slaves of their husbands. But in spite of all these tremendous difficulties Bethune laid the foundations of women's education in India.

(iv) *The Bourgeois thinkers—Derozio and the Derozeans—The Indian Renaissance (The Second Indian Cultural Revolution)* : Radicalism seeped in with irreverent journals edited by Englishmen, like Hicky's "Bengal Gazette", already referred to in Section J. The ideas of Diderot, Rousseau and Tom Paine came to be known, creating at the crust of Bengali Hindu society, a rational, free-thinking atmosphere. Comparing cultures, as in the case of the European Renaissance, produced a shock, a new awakening, generally known as the "Bengal Renaissance", as its effect was largest there, because of the heavy British concentration, the comparative lack of orthodoxy of Bengali Hindus (as a result largely of being former Mahayana Buddhist ground), and the milieu of Anglo-Bengali business collaboration in the Agency Houses. The twin catalysers were the West European Renaissance ideas, and still more, the West European Enlightenment ("Bourgeois Thinking"). Arabinda Poddar calls the new movement 'Radical Intellectualism'.[59] The immediate initiator was the Eurasian, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-31), of mixed Portuguese, Indian and English parentage, a teacher in the Hindu School. His watch-words were—free-thinking and humanism. He himself got his ideas from Drummond, a Scotsman, a free-thinker and atheist, who had an "Academy" at Dharamtala in Calcutta. Drummond was a lover of literature and philosophy, of Burns, and of the French revolution and English radicalism.[60] He passed on his enthusiasm to Derozio and Derozio to his pupils. Derozio was also the first Indian nationalist. He

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



wrote a beautiful poem "To India, My Native Land", beginning :—

My country ! in the days of glory past
A beauteous halo encircled round thy brow
And worshipped as a deity thou wast—

And ends :—

My fallen country ! one kind wish for thee !

As a popular teacher in the Hindu School he had many eager students. He loved them to a fault, and wrote fondly about them :—

Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers.

No wonder that his students responded enthusiastically to him. But people were shocked at their "cutting their way through ham and beef and wading to liberalism through tumblers of beer." A student of his, told to bow down before the image of the goddess Kali, greeted her with a "good-morning, madam" ! Another, Rasik Krishna Mallick, said in open court that he did not believe in the sacredness of Ganges water.[61] It is not surprising, therefore, to find Derozio charged by irate parents with atheism, with teaching disrespect to and disobedience of parents, and sadly, with considering "marriage between brothers and sisters as innocent and allowable."[62] He was forced to resign and died shortly thereafter, at the early age of twenty-two, ostensibly of cholera, but really of a broken heart, surrounded by his beloved students.

He left behind a galaxy of brilliant students, the leaders of the "Bengal Renaissance". Tara Chand Chakravarty (1806-55) was the first secretary of the Brahmo Samaj.

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee (1813-85) became a Christian, was a very learned Bengali in the modern style, and a public worker.

Ram Gopal Ghosh (1815-68) was an Anglophile businessman, a believer in ultimate joint Indo-Anglian rule in India.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee (1814-78) was phil-Brahmo, pro-British, a believer in the Upanishads, and a believer in widow-remarriage—he himself married a Punjabi Khatri widow; he established the "Young Bengal" journal *Gyan-anneshun* ("Search for Knowledge") in 1831; later he migrated to Lucknow, founded the Oudh British Indian Association, but lost the radicalism of his earlier youth, although it was he who was instrumental in infusing a "modern" vigour into the thinking of that province.

Rasik Krishna Mallick (1810-58) started a free school, believed in English for higher education, Bengali for administrative work.

Peary Chand Mitra (1814-83), a businessman, was associated with two journals, *Gyan-anneshun* and *Bengal Spectator,* and with the library movement; under the nom-de-plume of Tek Chand Thakur he wrote a book in Bengali, *Alaler gharer dulal,* which gives pen-portraits and sketches of Calcutta in its vigorous, clever, sarcastic, sharp, slangy, witty "Cockney" language.

Radha Nath Sikdar (1813-70) believed in beef-and physical culture.[63] An official of the Trigonometrical Survey, he discovered the highest mountain in the world and named it after his departmental head—Mount Everest; he and Peary Chand Mitra brought out a ladies' magazine. —the *Mashik Patrika* ("Monthly Journal"). Being an ardent student of Greek and Latin he wrote in it stories and essays based on Plutarch, Xenophon and others—with what immediate effect on the good young housewives on the banks of the Hooghly is not clear!

The Derozeans were men of the greatest personal integrity[64]. Hara Chandra Ghosh and Rasik Krishna Mallick were well-known for their great honesty in official life, by no means common then (or now) in India. Shiv Chandra Deb spent a life of service to his neighbours. Ram Gopal Ghosh refused to abjure his beliefs in spite of social ostracism. Radhanath Sikdar refused, despite tremendous family pressure, to marry a minor. Ramtanu Lahiri, a Brahman, renounced the "sacred thread" in 1851, at the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



age of 38, an act of psychological courage, in his milieu, of heroic proportions.

(v) *Quasi-Bourgeois Thinkers—Akshay Kumar Dutt/ Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar/Michael Madhusudan Dutt.*

There were Quasi-Bourgeois thinkers—Akshay Kumar Dutt, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Michael Madhusudan Dutt. They were not Derozio's pupils, but were largely "Drummondian" in spirit. Hence they can be called Quasi-Bourgeois, or Quasi-Drummondians or Quasi-Derozeans.

Akshay Kumar Dutt (1820-86), a Brahmo and a teacher, spread science and Rationalist ideas through the Bengali journal, *Tattvabodhini Patrika* ("Truth Awakening Journal"). He also wrote many Bengali text-books and books on science. He dealt with religious matters in a rational way. He was a great believer in "Nature" and had "Nature" substituted for the Vedas in the Brahmo Samaj creed. Even on his deathbed he desired references to God in his will to be substituted by "Vishwa-beej" (World Seed). He favoured courtship, widow remarriage, monogamy, and, under certain circumstances, divorce. Bengali in his externals, he had fads about eating and drinking—was irrationally against meat and alcohol (hence a Quasi-Rationalist). He surrounded himself in his bedroom with portraits of Newton and Darwin, drawings of the position of stars and planets in the sky, and pictures of animal and human skeletons!

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91) was totally Bengali in his externals, complete with *dhoti, chaddar* and slippers. He was a *pandit* in the Fort William College and later, Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, where he introduced, in 1853, the teaching of English, and of Western moral and ethical philosophy. Lieutenant-Governor Halliday of Bengal liked him and permitted him to wear his normal dress at Government House functions. Fearless, astute, kind yet firm, a great believer in the dignity of labour, he was liked by the British Rational-Mercantile men. Although a Sanskrit *pandit,* he had been influenced by Rational-Mercantile ideas and was basically a Rational-Mercantile or Bourgeois Man. He came into

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



contact with Derozeans like Ram Gopal Ghosh, Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee, Ramtanu Lahiri and others, but apparently the acquaintance never matured into friendship.[65] He had a law passed for the remarriage of widows (1856), established the Metropolitan Institution (now Vidyasagar College) and the Hindu Family Annuity Fund. He was the first to write Bengali books, including first readers, and text-books, in a chaste, grave, courteous, Sanskritic, but clear and lucid style. He simplified the study of Sanskrit. He declared the Vedanta and Sankhya to be "false systems of philosophy" and wanted them to be counteracted in the Sanskrit syllabus "by sound philosophy in the English course".[66] He was also against Western philosophies of the Vedanta type, e.g. of Bishop Berkeley, and considered the inclusion of John Stuart Mill's works in the curriculum as 'indispensable'. He was pro-British and during the 1857 upheaval unhesitatingly allowed British soldiers to be garrisoned in the Sanskrit College, apparently believing, like other Anglophiles of his time, that the British conquest of India was divinely ordained.[67] The heroes of his *Akhyan Manjari* ("Garland of Anecdotes") were Rational-Mercantile Europeans. He was an atheist, and instead of God, worshipped man.[68] Principal Krishna Kamal Bhattacharyya, who knew him, attributed his atheism to the distant influence of David Hare and Derozio.[69] But he did not attack Pauranic Hinduism or rituals and hence, on this account, should be held to be only Quasi-Bourgeois.

Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt (1824-73) was born a Hindu, but became a Christian. He was thoroughly Westernised in externals, and was the creator of Bengali blank verse and was a Miltonian poet. But he was obsessed with Hindu Pauranic themes, and had something of the *Bhakta* in him. Hence he is Quasi-Bourgeois. He extolled Ravana and the *rakshasas* in his *Meghnad-vadha-kavya* ("The Lay of Meghnad's death"), probably because they were defeated and were thus, to him, underdogs. In this transvaluation of values, says Arabinda Poddar, "can be traced the birth in Bengali poetry of modern humanism; and Madhusudan was the first Bengali humanist poet."[70]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


(vi) *The "Bengal Renaissance" (The first phase of the Indian Renaissance) flickers—why?* After the Derozeans and Quasi-Derozeans the "Bengal Renaissance", as the upsurge of independent thinking, the attempts to break away from the shackles of the Theo-Aristocratic past and follow Rationalist-Mercantile West Europe is generally called, ebbed away. It flickered, and became a steady but much dimmer flame. Instead of High Key rationalist activities, low key postures were much preferred and became the norm. Why? Because Rational-Mercantile ideas are concomitants of a Rational-Mercantile socio-economic life, part and parcel of the same Values-and-Institutional Package. They thrive, and get recognition, only in a Secular-Mercantile milieu, although in the case of individuals there may be no casual connections. Of the "Bengal Renaissance" figures only Ram Gopal Ghosh and Peary Chand Mitra were businessmen intimately connected with British businessmen. But Bengalis were in a Rational-Mercantile milieu when they had ties of close commercial collaboration with the Rational-Mercantilists from abroad, who had to use them, as we have seen, as fronts, for political-legal reasons. When it was not necessary for them to do so (i.e. from 1837), the Bengalis, without recent traditions of extensive overland or overseas commerce, fell back to Theo-Aristocratic or Quasi-Bourgeois ways, became landlords, lawyers, doctors, teachers and government officials. The high-living, high key atmosphere of "Young Bengal" had necessarily to give place to a more cautious, prudent, conservative, low key one. Science and technology also, for the same reason, did not thrive. It was not very relevant to the lives of the Bengali quasi-bourgeois, although it was a matter of great importance for their masters, the Rationalist-Mercantilists from abroad. Hence the short-lived nature of the Mechanical Institute founded in 1839. The "Bengal Renaissance" was, indeed, the first phase of the slow, very slow process of Indian Re-thinking, a process which started early in the nineteenth century, and is still taking its tortuous, meandering and confused course.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The Parsees, Theo-Mercantile people who were the counterparts of the Bengalis in the early nineteenth century, were welded together by the 'Theo' element. Indeed, without it, as in the case of the Jews, their very *raison d'etre,* the reason for existing as a separate entity, would vanish. Also they were too few in numbers in India. Hence the configuration did not permit them to emerge as Rational Mercantile leaders of the Indian Renaissance.

(vii) *The origin of the modern Bengali Stage*: A last item in this Propagation-Assimilation category is the foundation of the modern Bengali stage. A Russian, Gerasim Lebedeff, started it in 1795. But the "great impelling force", according to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, was the amateur English stage in Calcutta.[71]

(c) *Reconciliation*: (i) *Novels*: Walter Scott painted Indians in fairly good colours in his "The Surgeon's Daughter", set in the Mysore of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. So did William Delafield Arnold, an educationist, and a brother of Matthew Arnold, in his "Oakfield, or Fellowship in the East" (1853).

(ii) *Collections and descriptions/the Orientalists—The "Aryan hypothesis" and his effects*: Rational Mercantile Man was infinitely more curious than people of earlier Stages of Civilization. Voltaire and Gibbon symbolise him well. In India the Rational Mercantile men, once they were masters, had necessarily to know local laws, customs and traditions in order to administer satisfactorily. Muslim law was fully codified, the latest Indian version being the immense volumes of Aurangzeb's *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri.* A translation from the original Arabic into Persian was used by Charles Hamilton for his English translation, the *Hedaya,* which came out in 1791. Hindu Law, however, was a secret monopoly of the *pandits.* The barrier had to be broken. Besides, Hindu tradition was highly mythologised. Rational-Mercantile Man had, of inner necessity, to demythologise it. Apart from the requirements of law and tradition were the compulsions and obsessions of intellectually inclined men. Knowledge led to a reconciliatory attitude, and this reconciliation took place in many planes —daily life, fact-finding surveys, linguistic and cultural

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



studies, and high theorisation, history writing, and the aesthetic life.

A manifestation of the Rational Mercantile spirit was the collection and systematic study of antiquities. "Hindu Stuart", a major-general, was mad about Hindu antiquities.

James Prinsep (1799-1840), of the Assay Department, used his spare time to date coins and study inscriptions. He discovered the Brahmi and Kharoshti scripts (1834-37), which made possible the reading of the Mauryan Ashoka's inscriptions. Thus began Indian epigraphy and historical chronology.

There were many "crazy" collectors and antiquarians, who described our ruins systematically and scientifically, for the first time, thus:—

—William Franklin (1763-1839), Pandua and Gaur.
—Thomas and Marianne Postans (1808-46)—Girnar.
—Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821)—South India, specially Madurai, Mahabalipuram and Amaravati.
—Sir Walter Elliot (1803-87), South India.
—Francis Buchanan, Gangetic Valley (1806-1815), including Bodh Gaya and Rajgir.
—Frederick Maisey and Alexander Cunningham—Sanchi (1850-53).
—Markham Kittol—Sarnath (1848-53).

Robert Gill may be taken to be an archetype figure. He worked for 27 years at Ajanta, making tracings and taking stereoscopic photographs, in the face of, as Mildred Archer says "tremendous hardships, loneliness, fever, dysentry, wild animals, the savage tribe of Bhils, a broken thigh, the Muting....." [72]

Not all, however, were so obsessed. In fact, the majority was not. The Moti Masjid at Agra was used as a Treasury, the Agra Fort as barracks for British troops, and an Ashokan pillar as a roller in public works.

There was a spate of Rational-Mercantile men, judges, doctors, officials who studied Sanskrit, Pali, Persian etc. classics and made exciting discoveries. They were known as the "Orientalists". Judge Charles Wilkins made an English translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* in 1785 and so

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



broke the Brahman esoteric monopoly of it. He also translated into English the *Hitopadesha* (1787).

Judge Halhed (b. 1751) wrote the first modern Bengali grammar and noticed resemblances between Sanskrit, Persian, Latin and Greek.

Jonathan Duncan (b. 1756), Resident in Benares, became a social reformer, buttressing his arguments with quotations from Hindu scriptures.

John Gilchrist, a doctor, left his profession, joined Fort William College as a linguist and encouraged the formation and development of Urdu, Hindi and Marathi prose, as we have seen.

Sir William Jones (1746-94), judge and linguist, founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784) for systematic scientific and social studies. He produced a version of Manu's Law Code. He translated Kalidasa's *Shakuntala,* and Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* into English. After "Sacontala" and "Gita Govinda" no one could deny any longer the merits of ancient Indian literature. He maintained that Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, "Gothick" and "Celtick" all had the same origin and belonged to the same family. Having discovered the Laws of Manu, the Six Schools of Indian Philosophy, Hindu architecture, sculpture, myths and symbols, he came to the conclusion that the Hindus had once been 'a people with a fertile and inventive genius' but had degenerated and 'buried their history in a cloud of fables.'[73]

H. T. Colebrooke (1765-1837), put Sanskrit studies on a systematic footing. He painted the Aryo-Indian period of Indian history, however, in golden colours, and contrasted it with the India of his times. He saw passages in the Vedas in favour of monotheism, widow remarriage etc. The Jones-Colebrooke view pictured the earliest Indians as a robust, beef-eating, socially egalitarian white people, the Aryans, members of a race, speaking related languages, stretching to England, and including Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Russians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, indeed, all the peoples of Europe. There was no "Oriental despotism" then, but tribal republics, no *suttee,* no temples, no idolatry, no Tantrism, no Kali. The Ger-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



man Sanskrit scholar of Oxford, Friedrich Max Müller, later touched up this hypothesis, and it is the Jones-Colebrooke--Müller concept which colours the consciousness of Hindu Indians of the elite castes, Marxists and Extreme Rightists alike, that they are the cousins of the great Russians and Americans (earlier, the English, French and Germans), and that there was a great Golden Age of the past when India led the world in all fields—a Golden Age destroyed by the Muslims and the British. Thus, the "Aryan" hypothesis exacerbated upper caste alienation and separatism from Muslims and the mass of Hindus, and gave it an apparent scientific basis. We have seen in Chapter 11 how false is the "scientific" basis to the supposition that upper class Indians are nearer to the Swede than to the Adivasi.

H. H. Wilson gave body to the Jones-Colebrooke generalisations. He was a stout defender of Hinduism, opposed the abolition of *suttee,* and pleaded for Sanskrit against English as the medium of instruction.

(iii) *Arousal of History-Consciousness among the Hindus*: The Muslim-Indians in the 18th century had a History-Consciousness, as the work of Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, referred to earlier, shows. But Hindu-Indians, by and large deprived of political power, lived in the fantasy-world of the Puranas.

Sir William Jones and Colebrooke started the theory of Aryan-Dravidian dichotomy, later amplified by Max Müller. Noting that the population generally got smaller and darker as one went east and south, and that the Dravidian languages were more or less confined to the South and east of the peninsula, it was postulated that the Aryans, white invaders from outside, speaking Indo-European languages, had driven the Dravidians from North India to their present territory. The Anglo-Saxon invasion of England and the supposed "driving out" of Celts and Britons to Wales and Cornwall was taken as a parallel. It was assumed that the North Indians were Aryans, perhaps somewhat mixed up, darkened mainly by the sun, but basically the blood-brothers of Europeans—if not all of them, at least the upper castes. The whole of the South was

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



popularly assumed to be inhabited by the defeated Dravidians. This hypothesis was eagerly adopted by the Hindu elite, ever ready to claim brotherhood with the then all-powerful Europeans and Americans, and it still colours our consciousness. Gail Omvedt, a modern sociological observer, has pointed out that this has unpleasant connotations inasmuch the Hindu upper classes consider themselves "Aryan" by race, and therefore, akin to Europeans as contrasted with the vast majority of Indians, whom they exploit.[74] Also, such racist assumptions have exacerbated North-South difficulties as, by another view, all Northerners are Aryans, and all Southerners defeated Dravidians. We have seen in Chapter 11 how wild and fantastic, and scientifically incorrect, these views are.

James Mill in his "The History of British India" (1817) introduced the three-period division—Hindu, Muslim, British, and it was made to correspond with the "Ancient", "Medieval", "Modern" categorisation of West Europe. At once the Hindu period became remote, partly glorious, partly barbaric; the Muslim, full of pomp, pageantry, colour, filth, poverty, sordidness, heroism and religious devotion; and the British, of progress in all directions, humanism and enlightenment. Mill taught that change could come about by social legislation initiated by the conquerors—and this is what Bentinck and the other reformers did.

Mill condemned "Hindu civilisation" as being irrational, negative and non-progressive and placing emphasis on the group rather than on individuals. Macaulay agreed with Mill, and even sympathetic "Orientalists" like H. H. Wilson did not refute Mill entirely although they tried to correct his perspective. Mountstuart Elphinstone in his "History of India" (1841), struck a compromise between the Orientalist tradition and the Mill-Macaulay Utilitarian view. Thus, he believed in India's past greatness, but nevertheless found defects therein also—a 'want of manliness in Hindu character', and the absence of any principle of progressive improvement. But, he believed, if something of "British freedom" were established in India then the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



nation would be entirely changed in the course of a few generations without any effort on the part of its members. Many Rational-Mercantile Englishmen shared his views, as did educated Indians.

(iv) *Painting*: The painters of Murshidabad turned to their new masters after 1757, and developed a new genre, portrait painting on mica, which flourished till about 1850, by when there were practically no British left in that town. The Patna painters, using perspective, and water-colours instead of tempura, developed 'occupation paintings', depicting people in ordinary life, tailors, barbers, palanquin bearers, washerwomen etc. themes which delighted Rational-Mercantile Man.

There were many distinguished European water-colour painters of Indian scenes in the 18th century, like Tilly Kettle, John Zoffany, Ozias Humphrey, George Chinnery etc. Most of their water-colour drawings were intended as studies for engravings, aquatints, and later, for lithographs. Sir Charles D'Oyley, Opium Agent at Patna till 1833, produced a number of books of illustrations on his own lithographic press.

(v) *Lucknow architecture and painting/Travelogue of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*: In Lucknow of the Nawabs, late Mughal and contemporary West European styles coexisted, with some intermingling. This applies specially to the interior decor, the pillars, the ornate arches, the candelabras, the furniture. During the reign of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, Robert Home was for all practical purposes the Court Painter. Bishop Heber thought that Lucknow resembled Dresden, though its main thoroughfare reminded him of High Street at Oxford.[75]

The admiration for the West of the Nawab-class of Lucknow comes out clearly in the travelogue of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, born in 1752, a member of the Muslim-Indian aristocracy, who was in Europe between 1800 and 1803.

(vi) *Serfaji's Tanjore*: Tanjore was a centre of Rational Mercantile—Theo-Aristocratic rapprochement in a minor way. The rulers were Marathas amidst a Tamil population. The raja Serfaji had been educated by Lutherans in Madras, and in 1798 he built himself a palace in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



a mixture of styles, Rational-Mercantile West European and Theo-Aristocratic Indian, and patronised the new painting. Flat backgrounds disappeared, white and blue skies were broken by jagged clouds, and there was a receding foreground—all products of external stimuli.

(vii) *Brakes on Reconciliation*: Not all the men from abroad were curious about India. A large number were not. William Delafield Arnold was distressed by them. They lived and dressed well, swore hard, rode hard, and were scornful about things intellectual—British, or Indian languages and learning ('damned black lingo')—and would not associate with Indians.[76] India is basically a strange place, bizarre, weird, and also a bore in Thackeray's "The Newcomes".

Victor Jacquemont, the French traveller in India in the 1830's, described Britons moving around the country, aloof, stiff to upperclass Indians, harsh to their social inferiors, their servants and retainers. Wherever possible they took Britain with them in their travels—china, silver, clean linen, table manners, formal dress.[77] They came to India to retire, after some years, in comfort in Britain, and did not expect to enjoy India.

Some Christian missionaries, specially the 'Evangelicals', depicted the horrible side of India in vivid colours—widow-burning, female infanticide, thugs etc. which led to growing nauseation among many of the Rational-Mercantilists. By the 1850's they had 'virtually institutionalized their contempt for things Indian.'[78] The militant Christian rulers, like John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson etc. liked wild tribes, but to the others they were stern and patriarchal, eager to teach them 'Christian virtues', and unmindful, indeed contemptuous, of their culture and their traditions.

(d) *Appropriation*: (i) *Jornalism/"Kavir larai"*: The introduction of journalism by Radical Englishmen has already been dealt with in Section J. In Bengal, the centre of Rational-Mercantile British activities, their free and irreverent spirit found expression in *Kavir larai*, the fight of poetic groups, or individuals, making impromptu verses on all sorts of subjects. Ishwar Gupta (1812-59), who had

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



edited the daily *Prabhakar*, was one of the leading spirits behind *Kavir larai*. An irreverent humorist, he introduced a new, "modern" (Rational-Mercantile) note in Bengali literature, and is said to have been the preceptor of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Akshay Kumar Dutt in matters of style.[79] The *Kaviwalas* were mostly ordinary men not aristocrats, like Bhola the Confectioner, Bhawani the Trader, and so on. There were some women also, like Yajneshwari, Madhavi, Mohini etc. as well as the romantic Portuguese known as Antony Feringhee, who married a beautiful widow, Saudamini.

(ii) *Other items of appropriation*: Other items of appropriation during this period were many—for instance, tea and coffee; Michael Madhusudan Dutt's blank verse; and Kolhatkar's *Othello* in Marathi.

(e) *Transmutation*: (i) *Amanat*: *The Lucknow opera*: In the India of those days the Muslims of North India, *ci-devant* rulers, were the only elite group which had the courage and self-confidence to face the Rational-Mercantile men from abroad on all fields. It is not strange, therefore, that in the Lucknow Court and neighbouring areas empathic spirits tried to fuse differing cultures and to transmute them. Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh (1847-56) patronised music, and there were many Frenchmen and Italians in his court. From them the idea of an opera as an art-form caught on, and the *Indar Sabha* of Amanat, 1853, gave a new impulse to Hindustani drama.

(ii) *Nazir, the humanist poet*: On the poetic front Nazir (this is his pen-name or *takhallus*, we do not know his real name) wrote on diverse themes in Urdu; rain showers, the Agra summers, the seasons, the moonlight night, Holi and Dewali festivals, the birth of Krishna, Krishna's flute, Guru Nanak, Salim Chishti, the Taj, Banjaras, Jogis and Jogins etc., everything which interested the man in the street.[80] He lived in Agra, and apparently died there sometime between 1828 and 1830. His outlook is so catholic, his range of subjects so varied and democratic, that it cannot but be inferred that his Consciousness was the outcome of interaction between a native Theo-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Aristocratic one and stimuli from the Rational-Mercantilist one from abroad.

## P. Interaction Elsewhere in Asia

In China, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans, made efforts at propagation of both Christianity and Science, but met with considerable resistance and the effort failed.

There was an impact, limited to the technological and utilitarian fields, in Japan. This began from the 17th century. The proud, military-minded Japanese rulers, the *samurai,* wanted to safeguard their country's future, and learnt West European technology from the Dutch at Nagasaki (the *Rangakusha* school)—firearms, ship-building, navigation. In the 18th century there was already a consuming passion for "Western" science, typified by Hiraga Gannai, Sugita Gempaku, Honda Rimei, and above all, Shiba Kokan. In Japan the Rational-Mercantile intersected with the Theo-Aristocratic, and hence the twin set of interests.

The Turks were a Theo-Aristocratic military elite, rulers of a vast Empire from the gates of Vienna to the Euphrates, and including all Araby. Hence, their reaction to Western military superiority was also military. Selim III (1789-1807) organised the militia on the French model. When the Janissaries opposed military reforms, Mahmud II destroyed them (1826). Abd-al-Majid (1839-61) attempted to reform law and politics. The Code Napoleon was adopted, and the millet system abolished, but the reforms proved abortive. Reaction was rampant during the long rule of Abd-al-Hamid II (1876-1903).

In Persia appropriation of military technology began as early as the Safavis, when the Sherley brothers helped with the artillery in the 16th century. But then came a hiatus, and so military weakness, under the Qajar dynasty.

In the Lebanon Bashir II (1788-1840) patronised both Catholic and Protestant missions, the Bible was translated into Arabic, and two modern universities came into existence in Beirut, the American University, and the French Universite St. Joseph.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



In the Egyptian world the appropriation process started early in the 19th century with Muhammad Ali. Cotton and rice cultivation, irrigation measures, engineering and medical schools, interchange of scholars, especially with France, were all inspired by him. The press at Bulaq brought out modern text books and translations of French works.

Thus, India was special in that ideological and intellectual confrontation, in depth, took place here only, except for the Lebanon. Elsewhere, the rulers were local people, and encouraged appropriation mainly on the practical side. The "modernization imperative" was military, mainly one of survival against Western encroachment. In India the Rational-Mercantile rulers did something to propagate their science and technology, but the native Theo-Aristocratic elite, themselves oppressing a vast superstitious multitude by means of thought-control (*Karma, Maya* etc.), were by no means keen to initiate a process of scientific thinking which could ultimately but lead to their own displacement.

## Q. Weakness of the Indian Response: the Quasi-Bourgeois Veneer

In Science and Technology there was very little effect on the Theo-Aristocrats. The Muslim-Indians stood aloof and science was incompatible with the essentially 'Theo' nature of the Hindu-Indian elite, and specially with Pauranic-Hinduism.

In economics the benefit went largely to the new zamindars and the professional classes, both associated with the foreign rulers. The competition of the machine led to de-industrialisation and to increasing feudalisation.

In 'politics and administration' there were gains. Modern methods were imposed by the conquerors, and some Rational-Mercantile ideas and techniques (journalism, political associations) imbibed by a few.

Some social reforms were forced on India—abolition of *suttee, thugee,* female infanticide etc by legislation, following the theory of the Utilitarian, James Mill. These

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



reforms were repugnant to the spirit of Pauranic Hinduism. Pauranic Hinduism is, moreover, for inequality, for the *homo hierarchicus,* and the Rational-Mercantilists, surrounded by a sea of Theo-Aristocrats, came to be influenced by them rather than influence them. *Varna, jati,* sense of pollution etc. continued to reign supreme.

In the sphere of ideology the impact was very marginal, as the list of members of the Brahmo Samajes, and their fewness, show. However, the groups affected belonged to the elite classes, and hence the change was important.

There was some effect in the cultural field on the extremely leisured elite classes. But the Jones-Colebrooke-Muller Aryan hypothesis increased the distance between Hindu and Muslim, between "high-caste" and "low-caste", and between "North" and "South".

So the overall impact was very weak. Territorially also it was almost confined to the Bengalis and the Parsees, as Bengal was the centre of British operations and was comparatively unorthodox (because it was former Mahayana Buddhist ground), and as the Parsees were a Theo-Mercantile people with craft traditions, and so nearer the Rational-Mercantilists than the Theo-Aristocratic Hindus.

Hence, Rational-Mercantile Consciousness in India was a veneer, very unevenly spread. The heart and head remained overwhelmingly Theo-Aristocratic.

If the Agency-Houses had continued, the new Rational-Mercantile Consciousness would have taken deeper roots. Derozio would have become the great culture-hero, there would have been the "Asian equivalent of Lord Mayor of London or Burgermoister of Ghent", the absence of which has been so sadly noted by the sympathetic Barbara Ward.[81] From all of this then would have flowed the Scientific-Revolution, Renaissance-Humanism-Enlightenment and the jump to the Scientific-Democratic Stage, not too long after its appearance in West Europe itself.

Alas, all this was not to be. But early in 1857 the outlook did not look so bad. The Indians, Theo-Aristocrats, had not yet imbibed the Theo-Mercantile and Rational-Mercantile concept of Nationalism. The Hindu and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Sikh elite classes at least accepted foreign Rational-Mercantile rule. The relationship between the foreign rulers and the ruled was, on the whole, mutually friendly. Great things for the future could be expected and liberal, thinking men on both sides obviously had no doubts about Charles Trevelyan's dream coming true one day. But this was also not to be. Violent upheavals in 1857 would spoil the amicable working-relationship and set back further development for nearly another fifty years.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 26

# STAGE 10—INTERACTION WITH WEST EUROPEAN (BRITISH) SCIENTIFIC-DEMOCRATIC : 1857 TO 1947

## A. General

THE RATIONAL-MERCANTILE (Stage 9) intersected with Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic, from the 17th century, and the whole of West Europe became mainly a Scientific-Democratic society by the 19th century.

Great Britain was one of the first countries to evolve into this higher stage. Thus India reacted with a highly dynamic society, ebullient, and pulsating with an irresistible vigour. Two phases are discernible :—
Phase I—Private technocracy (1857-1905) ; Phase II—Mixed and regulatory economy (1905-47). What was this new society like ?

## B. Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic

The Socio-Economic Mode of Life here is production through the application of science, which can take place harmoniously only if there is a high degree of rational and scientific education, democracy and team-work. Nature is thus continuously conquered and bent to man's needs.

The accompanying Prevailing Mentality (Consciousness X) has the following chief attributes—decrease in belief in the other-worldly and concentration on the this-worldly under the general guide-lines of Reason, Science, Work and Humanism ; innovation and change as a Way of Life ; large-scale application of science for the benefit of all ; democratic, and hence also "romantic" ; because of scientific and democratic attitude, also feminist. The ingredients of science and democracy produce various emotional "mixes". At the extreme ends of the spectrum are Romantics and Radicals ; in-between are Socio-Psychologists and Realo-Idealists. Hovering on the fringes

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



at both ends are the Surrealists, distorting or exaggerating Reality, or going beyond it.

The effect of the Prevailing Mentality (Consciousness X) on the various functions of life are analysed below.

(a) *Science and Technology*: The mentality of experimentation and innovation led to dazzling achievements in the mastery over the environment, decades now corresponding to earlier centuries. In the Rational Mercantile, the "natural philosophers" had started experimentation. Now there was marriage between this "natural philosophy" and "technics", the inheritance of the traditions of the Early Technologists. (Stage 4). This led to the exploitation of Nature in various phases (the "Industrial Revolution")—

| | |
|---|---|
| Phase I (17th-18th century) | —Coal, iron and steel. |
| Phase II (19th century) | —Electrical, chemical and petroleum industries. |
| Phase III (20th century) | —Light metal industries (automobiles, radios, aeroplanes, synthetic textiles); the use of atomic energy; conquest of Space; this age is still going on. |

Originally, many of the inventions were made in Great Britain by technologists, the Great Britain which was the Ultima Thule of European technicians of the Continent. France followed closely at the heels. Although the Rational Mercantile originated at Venice—Padua, as symbolised by Galileo, Theo-Aristocracy, or more directly, religion, was too strong in South Europe, and hence the centre of Rational-Mercantile, and later, Scientific-Democratic activities, shifted North. The world was expanding for Europe, food was being obtained from the New World, population and demand were rising steeply, and one with money could risk it on new inventions, satisfying such wants speedly, with sporting chances of success. The societies which came later into the field, like Germany, consciously *induced* industrialisation by state action, whereas it had been spontaneous in Great Britain, France

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



and the United States. Invention was organised where industrialisation was induced, and this gave scope to indefinite improvement in techniques in industrial research laboratories, with dramatic pay-off. Thus, many of the students of the German chemist Liebig (early 19th century) went to industrial and commercial concerns. In the second part of the 19th century Germany forged ahead of Britain and France. Largely due to her encouragement, a new type of being came into existence, the "scientist", a word first used by William Whewell in Cambridge in 1835. Science was organised—in research laboratories, in production plants, factories, mines and refineries. From the beginning it was international, and since it was organised, it began to spread throughout the world, laying the foundation of an international technical society.

(b) *Economics* : To gather in the large funds required to run factories, the Rational-Mercantile device of "joint stock company" was very useful. The weaker countries, the weaker classes, child labour etc. were exploited, and this selfishness was countered by an idealism and an opposition which gave rise to "factory laws" and to trade union movements. "Management" of factories also became more and more scientific, leading to the rise of a new discipline, "management science", by the first decades of the 20th century. The process of economic development was accompanied by bitter class tensions and class conflicts. Some, like Karl Marx, held class-wars to be inevitable. Others, like the American, Russell Herman Conwell ("Acres of Diamond"), preached the "stewardship of riches" theory in the last decades of the 19th century.

(c) *Family and Society* : Social democracy and lessening of class barriers followed the spread of education. Where there was no dead-weight of tradition, as in the United States, society began as a completely democratic one. More and more freedom came to be conceded to women as a class, until now today we have the "Women's Liberation" movement. It has had certain excesses, which people have laughed at, but its consequences for man-woman relationship, marriage and family are likely to be portentous.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



(d) *Politics etc.*: The process of Technicalization (the "Industrial Revolution") was slow in the nineteenth century, by later standards, and the greatest beneficiaries were naturally the countries of origin, and their neighbours in Europe and America. The older naval and industrial powers among them, like Britain and France, monopolised colonial possessions in Asia and Africa, the sources of raw materials and the market for finished goods. The newer powers wanted a "place in the sun". In-fighting for colonies and for the right to exploit, for influence and power, exacerbated national feelings to fever-heat, and led to two devastating world wars. In the interval between the two, revengeful terrorist groups, the Fascists and the Nazis, got hold of the defeated powers in the First World War and forced the Second one. The "nation" idea arose from Theo-Mercantile times, acquired an edge through rational self-interest in the Rational-Mercantile, and now ran riot. Colonialism led to anti-colonialism, and to the rise of the "nation" idea in Asia and Africa. But ultra-nationalism is incompatible with an international technical civilization, and efforts to bridge the gulf has led to various forms of international cooperation, official and non-official, including the League of Nations and the United Nations.

An integral part of the new civilization is political democracy. This had to be conceded and was done so in stages, the franchise being extended reluctantly, under pressure, among men. Finally, voting rights were conceded to women also, specially after their heroic role in the First World War. Republics generally ousted monarchies, but the process was not equally fast everywhere. The American, Thoreau, preached "civil disobedience" to combat unjust governments by peaceful means.

(e) *Ideology*: The hold of Theo-Aristocratic Revealed Religion lessened. Darwinism and various forms of Social Darwinism (Gobineau's Racialism, the ideas of Sorel, Nietzsche, the simple and widespread doctrine of "each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost") vied with doctrines of social cohesion, of "utopian" Socialists like Henry George, and of Marxists, the latter postulating initial phases of bloody class wars. Liberal Humanism

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



appealed to many intellectuals and gave society a new flavour. Some of the Liberal Humanists were "agnostics" —a term invented by Thomas H. Huxley (1829-1895) Darwin's "bull-dog". William James, John Dewey and Bertrand Russell (in the 20th century) were influential Liberal Humanists, and basically agnostics. The Existentialists are usually atheists, and are anti-traditional, believing that man must make his character and morals as he goes along. There is a groping for a new faith, a new philosophy, sometimes taking the form of turning to esoteric "Eastern" creeds, like Yoga, Zen, etc. Voltaire had attacked Christianity (*ecrasez l'infame*), but Christianity remained in the sub-conscious of men's and women's minds, in Europe and America, due to teaching in schools and homes; and Christian theology and eschatology were never directly challenged in a large-scale way in West Europe and America, as they were, for instance, in Soviet Russia by the *Byezbozhniki* ("the Godless"). However, Christianity, in its ethical teaching and tolerance, and the simplicity of its doctrine of Love and Universal Brotherhood, is compatible with Industrial-Democratic Civilization. It came to have such doctrines because by origin it was a religion of the poor, not a religion developed out of an aristocratic or mercantile class-matrix.

The societies which started industrialisation later, and had to do so in a hurry in order to survive, adopted what may be termed Revolutionary Humanism, heretic forms of Liberal Humanism—Marxism-Leninism and Maoism, to erode Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile values. It is against this background that the vilification of Confucius in Maoist China becomes meaningful.

The stress on rationalism was somewhat eroded by the widespread acceptance of the ideas of the "Unconscious" and "Sub-conscious" of Freud, so that Reason is now looked upon as the Moderator in life, rather than as the Sole Guiding Factor, as it was by the 18th and 19th century Rationalists. Freud's sexual theories eroded the Puritanical herilists. Freud's sexual theories eroded the Puritanical heritage of Rational-Mercantilism.

(f) *Culture* : In the sphere of "culture" there has been

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


more cosmopolitanism, and trends, although as yet weak and faint, towards an International Civilization. In literature, the arts, music etc. the Romantic, Socio-Psychological, Realo-Idealist, Radical and Surrealist versions of the Scientific-Democratic Mentality have made themselves felt. To give examples—

*Romantic*—in literature, Goethe ("Sorrows of Werther"), Shelley, Keats, Burns, Hugo, Herder, Heine etc.
—in painting, the Pre-Raphaelites, Impressionists etc.
—in music, "Light Classical", like Strauss (waltzes), and sensuous dance music (jazz etc.).
*Socio-Psychological*—in literature, Henry James, Stendhal, Marcel Proust; experience in fragmented groups, the role of the "unconscious" as in the writings of D. H. Lawrence, James Joyce etc.
*Realo-Idealist*—in literature, Balzac, Zola, Flaubert, Ibsen, Shaw, H. G. Wells etc.
—in painting, Hogarth, Delacroix, Goya.
*Radical*—in architecture, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius etc.
*Surrealism*—Cubist and Surrealist art; atonal music of Arnold Schoenberg etc.

It is emphasized that the above examples are purely illustrative samples.

The Scientific-Democratic developed simultaneously in West Europe and in the United States, the latter outstripping the former in several respects, specially in technology, economics and management science. In Japan and Russia the Theo-Aristocratic stifled growth. But once Theo-Aristocratic impediments were removed (Japan, "the Meiji Restoration" in 1868; in Russia, the "October" Revolution of 1917) growth was fast.

### C. Why did not Japan Evolve Independently to the Scientific-Democratic Stage?

The question may be asked that why did West Europe and America evolve to the Scientific-Democratic stage and not Japan? Is there something in the "East" which inhibits such development, which comes naturally only to the people of the "West"?

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



A number of reasons have to be taken together: (i) Japan lived in the shadow of a powerful and culturally superior Chinese society. Imitation, therefore, became ingrained. There is no such parallel in the case of West Europe. (ii) The Rational-Mercantile Apprenticeship in Japan was not as long as in West Europe. So the Rational-Mercantilists were not strong enough to seize political control. (iii) The Theo-Aristocratic *samurais* remained in charge of Japanese society, the Mercantile *chonin* were not the masters of society. And, fearful of foreign intrusions, the former closed the country to foreign trade in the 17th century, and by reviving Shinto (*Wagakusha*) and Confucianism (*Buke Hatto*), strengthened the Theo-Aristocratic side of Japanese society, inimical to free thought and innovation.

Thus, it was the Theo-Aristocratic which prevented Japanese transition to the full Rational Mercantile and then to the Scientific-Democratic. Indeed, in some ways the Japanese Mercantile was like the Theo-Mercantile (Protestant Buddhist sects) ; and in other ways like the Rational Mercantile (in the *ukiyo-e,* the *shinden-dzukuri, the kabuki* theatre, the witty *sharebon* literature, the humanism of Monzaemon Chikamatsu), and the eager absorption of Dutch science and ordnance casting at Nagasaki (the *Rangakusha*).

It is clear, therefore, that rational explanations can be given for the differences in development, and that there is no necessity to have recourse to mystical arguments about "East" and "West".

## D. Interaction with the West European (British) Scientific-Democratic (1857-1947)

As in the last chapter the term "Institutions" in the tabloid below refers also to "achievements". Also, again as in the last chapter, the main initiators are shown in brackets after each "institution".

### 1. *Science and Technology*

*Values*—Development for all. Slow pace in India. Indian Theo-Aristocrats take up the new attitude to science and technology very slowly and with much reservation.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Institutions : Conquest or Imposition—*

(i) Railways, feeder roads/irrigation canals/all at high cost—railways did not pay for 50 years. (Scientific-Democrats). (ii) Coal/Iron/Steel/Light engineering industries. Tea|Coffee plantations on modern lines. (Scientific-Democrats).

*Appropriation*

The two world wars stimulate appropriation of "Western" technology, mainly to feed the war-machine. Appropriation of industrial technology by Parsees and others. (Scientific-Democrats/the Quasi-Bourgeois).

## 2. *Economics*

*Values.*[5] Development for all. Wider and wider scale.

*Institutions : Conquest—Resistance—*

(i) Theories of Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917)—Economic Drain/Advocate of rapid industrialisation/*swadeshi* ("home made") concept/*swadeshi* first applied in the 1905 Bengal upheaval. (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois). (ii) Managing Agency System (Scientific-Democrats). (iii) Joint Stock Companies. (Scientific-Democrats). (iv) Modern banking by foreign exchange banks (Scientific-Democrats). (v) 1905-1910, Curzon's push towards state economic participation—Agricultural Department/Commerce and Industries Department/Cooperative Credit Societies and Agricultural Banks/Emphasis on technical-education (little heeded by Theo-Aristocrats and the Quasi-Bourgeois) (Scientific-Democrats). (vi) Industrial recommendations of the Holland Commission (Scientific-Democrats). (vii) Growth of monopolies, foreign and Indian ; clash of the two, the latter slowly pushing out the former ; sometimes interlinking, as in cement ; diversification of activities of monopolistic groups ; some Indian princes participate in monopolistic groups. (Scientific-Democrats/Bourgeois and Quasi-Bourgeois).

*Appropriation*

Clamour for economic planning, inspired by the Soviet model, led by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, from the nineteen twenties. (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois).

*Transmutation*

Mahadev Govind Ranade's "Indian economics" idea—study of Indian economic values and institutions to determine mechanics and extent of change necessary—largely abortive (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



### 3. *Politics/Administration/Military Affairs*

*Values*—Rule by foreign oligarchy—the Indian Civil Service, a governing corporation/Indians in subordinate positions in the civil services/Indians only in the lowest ranks in the fighting forces, not allowed to handle heavy equipment/Indian nationalism, desire for greater participation in affairs, conflict of the two.

*Institutions : Conquest—Resistance—*

(i) Effective military disarmament of the conquered (Scientific-Democrats). (ii) Petitions and memorials as feed-back to rulers, safety valves also—Hume, Wedderburn etc. as teachers (Scientific Democrats-Bourgeois and Quasi-Bourgeois). (iii) Local language newspapers teach and fan nationalism (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois/Theo-Aristocrats). (iv) Divide et impera tactics of rulers, on growing nationalism. (Scientific-Democrats). (v) Religious nationalism of Tilak, Aurobindo etc. Slogan of *Bande Mataram* (Hail Mother). (Bourgeois, Quasi-Bourgeois, Theo-Aristocrats). (vi) *Swarajya* ("Home Rule"), concept of Dadabhai Naoroji, Tilak, Gokhale, and Annie Besant (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois/Theo-Aristocrats). (vii) Saiyid Ahmad Khan's and subsequent efforts to substitute Muslims for Bengalis as British favourites. (Scientific-Democrats/Bourgeois-Quasi-Bourgeois). (viii) Romantic Historical and Nationalist Literature/Hindu and Muslim streams. (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois/Theo-Aristocrats). (ix) Nationalist movements—streams of nationalism—armed violence and terrorism/Gandhist non-violence/leftist movements and leftist strikes/propaganda abroad/foreign friends. (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois/Theo-Aristocrats—Scientific-Democrats). (x) "Communal" Streams—Hindu Mahasabha/Muslim League (Quasi-Bourgeois, Bourgeois and Theo-Aristocrats—Scientific-Democrats). (xi) Curzon's repressive legacies—political intelligence/police terrorism against political suspects. (Scientific-Democrats).

*Propagation-Assimilation*

(i) Codification of Anglo-Indian law (Scientific-Democrats). (ii) The Mandarinate—the Indian Civil Service as a generalist Governing Corporation—"Guardians", on the concepts of the Han Chinese, Theo-Aristocratic Indian and Plato, as modified by Benjamin Jowett, basically a Theo-Aristocratic one (*huzoor ma-baap*)/lower specialist services and provincial and subordinate services (Scientific-Democrats). (iii) James Wilson's modernisation of the financial system (Scientific-Democrats). (iv) Mayo's decentralisation of powers (Scientific-Democrats). (v) Ripon's measures on local self-government (Scientific-Democrats).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Reconciliation*

(i) "Clemency" Canning's policy—no more annexations/high offices to Indians (latter followed tardily on pressure) (Scientific-Democrats). (ii) Gradual representation of Indians, under pressure, to higher counsels, finally independence. (Bourgeois and Quasi-Bourgeois/Scientific Democrats).

4. *Family and Society*

*Values.* Feminism, democracy and anti-caste ideas, all very weakly held.

*Propagation—Assimilation*

(i) Concept of social change by legislation clear in the writings of James Mill, inherent in the ideas and activities of Ram Mohan Roy, the Bengal Brahmos and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar etc., made into a doctrine by M. G. Ranade/Ranade's asylums, orphanages, widow's homes, schools etc./Maharashtrian reformers like G. H. Deshmukh, G. G. Agarkar, Jyotiba Phule etc./Liberal social reform measures of Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda/Social uplift—Ramakrishna Mission, following Vivekananda's ideas. (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois). (ii) New class structure (Scientific-Democrats—Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois/Theo-Aristocrats).

*Reconciliation*

"Clemency"—Canning halts Scientific-Democratic initiative in social reform measures (Scientific-Democrats/Theo-Aristocrats).

5. *Ideology*

*Values.* Religious and ideological beliefs, humanised, Christianised or otherwise transmuted.

*Institutions : Propagation-Assimilation*

Keshab Sen Christianises and democratises Brahmoism (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois).

*Transmutation*

(i) Ramakrishna and Vivekananda/Vivekananda's theory of complementary "Spiritual Orient" and "Materialist Occident", and of "Social Uplift" on a Vedantic base. (Quasi-Bourgeois). (ii) Saiyid Ahmed Khan's *wahy* and *nechariya firqa* concepts for the reconstruction of Islam (Quasi-Bourgeois). (iii) Doctrine of Synthesis of East and West—*anusheelan* (Bankim Chatterjee/Bhudev Mukherjee). (Quasi-Bourgeois). (iv) Ranade's theory of active, humanist Hinduism (Quasi-Bourgeois). (v) Other transmutationists—Dayananda ; Mirza Ghulam Ahmad ; Annie Besant ; Aurobindo ; Tagore ; Mahatma Gandhi ; Jawahar Lal Nehru ; Muhammad Iqbal and M. N. Roy. (Scientific-Democratic/Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



### 6. *Culture*

*Values.* Rationalism, humanism, democracy, romanticism, feminism.

*Institutions : Conquest—Resistance*

(i) Hunterian system of education (Scientific-Democratic). (ii) Conservative Muslim Deoband school. (Theo-Aristocratic). (iii) Cult of British racial superiority—Kipling's Doctrine of the White Man's Burden/stereotypes based on nationality, religion and province. (British Rational-Mercantile/British Theo-Aristocratic). (iv) Romantic reassertion ideas in literature (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois/Theo-Aristocratic). (v) Reassertion in painting—Jamini Rai/Chughtai (Quasi-Bourgeois). (vi) Reassertion in dance, music, arts and crafts (Quasi-Bourgeois). (vii) Conquest Art (British Rational-Mercantile/British Theo-Aristocratic).

*Propagation-Assimilation*

(i) Literature (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois). (ii) Largely liberal education, little science or technology (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois). (iii) Progressive Muslims (Aligarh). (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois). (iv) Expansion of universities. (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois).

*Reconciliation*

(i) Comparative philology boosts Sanskrit and so pride of Hindu elite. (Scientific-Democrats). (ii) Other studies by Europeans and Americans boosting the Hindu ego—Vedantic studies, leading to German and American Transcendentalism ; Max Muller's comparative religion and philosophy studies—Sacred Books of the East ; Max Muller's elaboration of the Jones-Colebrooke "Aryan" theory. (Scientific-Democrats). (iii) Kipling's "Jungle Books"/Story of Puran Bhagat. (Scientific-Democrats). (iv) "Oriental" and archaelogical studies, mainly by European and American scholars, uncover India's past/Indus Valley Civilisation pushes back Indian antiquity to the 3rd millennium B.C., great boost to Indian self-confidence. (Scientific-Democrats). (v) Dak Bungalow architecture/Railway Gothic/pseudo-Italian *palazzi* type architecture/dak bungalow cuisine (*Angrezi khana*—"English food"). (Scientific-Democrats). (vi) Scientific-Democrats become unsure of their mission, because of their adherence to the Race Doctrine—e.g. E. M. Forster and E. J. Thompson (Scientific-Democrats). (vii) Development of Indian-English (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois).

*Appropriation*

Sister Nivedita (Scientific-Democrat).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Appropriation*

(i) Vast corpus of literature, on "Western" model, in regional languages, Romantic (including Romantic Historical and Romantic National), Socio-Psychological, Realo-Idealist, Radical, Surrealist. (Bourgeois/Quasi-Bourgeois).—all literatures obsessed with "East-West" dichotomy idea. (Theo-Mercantile British/Bourgeois and Quasi-Bourgeois). (ii) Appropriation in art and architecture (Bourgeois and Quasi-Bourgeois). (iii) Appropriation in drama, fine arts etc. (Bourgeois and Quasi-Bourgeois).

*Transmutation*

(i) Ravi Varma's oleographs (Quasi-Bourgeois). (ii) Bengal School of Painting (Quasi-Bourgeois). (iii) Amrita Sher-gil's painting (Scientific-Democratic Indian). (iv) Cinema (Bourgeois and Quasi-Bourgeois).

## E. The Conservative Political—Military Revolts of 1857-59

All through 1857 to 1859, India was convulsed with violent and bloody revolts against the Rational-Mercantilists. The upheaval was not a straight "Feudal" *v* Rational-Mercantilists one as many "feudal" lords remained loyal to the Rational-Mercantilists. Gwalior under the advice of Dinkar Rao, Hyderabad under that of Salar Jung, the Rajputana States, feudal among feudals, the Central Indian States (except Jhansi), the Maratha states (except Nana Sahib of Kanpur)—all the most important feudal elements of India remained loyal to the British Rational-Mercantilists. Dalhousie had probed deep into the legality of the title-holding of the Oudh *talukdars* (barons) and had dispossessed some of them. Even then, only a few joined the rebels, and that too after seeing which way the wind was blowing. They may have compromised, but for a proclamation of the usually cautious and liberal Canning, the governor-general, which declared that except in a few specified cases, the lands of the *talukdars* would be liable to forfeiture.[1] The majority sided with the Rational-Mercantilists, probably because they were fearful, as the Soviet historians in *Vsyemirnaya Istoriya* (Moskva 1959, Tom. VI, p. 416) put it, as to what would happen next if the peasant came up on the top.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



It was not a racial war, Black versus White. Many Indians sided with the British actively. For instance, the Bengalis, the Sikhs, Assam, Orissa, and most of Bihar.[2] The landed aristocracy was largely pro-British, the businessmen *wholly* so.[3] Many Englishmen and Englishwomen escaped death due to the kindness of Indians, often friendly and hospitable villagers. There was no general feeling of nationalism as yet, nor even feelings of provincialism, but only of caste, of family pride, and of economic self-interest. And many of the British did not lose their heads (in the figurative sense), as did not the governor-general, Canning, and the Sovereign, Queen Victoria herself.

It was not a general army mutiny. Out of the 2,64,000 odd Indian soldiers of the Bengal Army, only about 70,000 revolted, that is to say, about 27%.[4] The Bombay and Madras Armies remained loyal, and indeed the Madras Army, consisting mainly of "low caste" men, was largely used, along with the Sikhs and the Gurkhas (the Bengal Army had fought against them earlier under the British), and the ubiquitous Bengali *babu* in the office and the commissariat, to subdue the rebellious high-caste *Poorbeahs* ("Easterners"), as the sepoys of the Bengal Army were known.

It was not a religious war. The proclamation of the rebels[5] speaks of high revenues, *chowkeedarie* taxes, occupation of "respectable" men being gone, of tolls and taxes, and only passingly of religion. Religion thus had the lowest priority. The elite, Hindu and Muslim, mostly kept aloof, watching the struggle, and did not join it frantically, as they would have had if religion had been the motivating factor.

It was not a general War of Independence. There were no *jacqueries*.[6] Indeed, for every white man in the British camps there were twenty black ones.[7] Nevertheless, the uprisings were widespread enough to be dubbed "popular", as has been done by Soviet historians.[8]

What then was the upheaval? It was a series of revolts, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, revolts both military and political, by certain elements, Theo-Aristocratic in Consciousness, partly to shake off the yoke which hurt

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



them so much economically, and partly to wrest power from a ruler who did not seem to be as strong as imagined earlier—they had been defeated at Crimea, Kabul and Jellalabad, and at the hands of the Sikhs at Feroze Shah and Sobraon (1845-46) and at Chilianwala (1849). The chief foci of revolt were Oudh, Bihar, Jhansi and Delhi. All the rest of the country was practically quiet. The Bengal Army wanted a Trans-Indus allowance, about which there was much wrangling. The members of this Army mostly came from Oudh, and they suffered after its annexation by the British in 1856, when the lax tax-collection of the Nawabs was replaced by the rigid exactions of the British. They were also concerned about the common messing system in jails—foreboding a possible common messing system in the barracks, which would subvert caste. There were no separate caste arrangements in the new-fangled railways, and indeed, the Edmond circular, although disowned, spoke of One God, the same system of religion, and of all as members—apparently equal—of God's family.[9] The reform measures of Bentinck and others—widow remarriage for instance—and efforts at Christianisation added fuel to the fire. The "Serajevo", the straw on the camel's back, the immediate cause of the uprising, was the greased cartridge of the long-range Enfield rifle, superseding the Brown Bess. To load it one had to bite the cartridge, the grease of which was made from the cow—sacred to the Hindus, and the pig—unclean to the Muslims. However, the process did not involve cow or pig-eating, and the sepoys would have endured the biting for the money. In the proclamation of the rebels the greased cartridges do not appear as a direct cause.

Some of the British were also undoubtedly rude to the Indians, calling them *niggers* (deeply insulting to a highly colour-conscious people), and *suars* (pigs).

Many princes and princesses joined for personal reasons—largely because their property had been seized, either under Dalhousie's "Doctrine of Lapse", or for other reasons. Such were the Nana Sahib of Kanpur, the Rani of Jhansi, Kunwar Singh of Arrah, the Mughal Firoz Shah. The Grand Moghul was forced to leadership by the rebel

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*sepoys*. Begum Hazrat Mahal of Oudh was motivated by dreams of ambition and rulership. There were many prominent Muslim leaders among the rebels, probably because as rulers but till yesterday they were generally more spirited than the Hindus—Begum Hazrat Mahal; Ahmadullah, the Maulvi of Fyzabad; Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly; Firoz Shah, the descendant of the Grand Moghul; Ahmad Khan of Multan; and so on. So much so that some British leaders in India thought that the revolts constituted an attempt to restore Mughal authority, a point of view which was contradicted, in a pamphlet published in 1858 (*Asbab-i-baghawat-i-Hind*—Causes of the Indian Mutiny) by Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, who had helped the British at Bijnor during the upheaval. Actually, the bulk of the rebels was Hindu.[10] But the Mughals and other Muslim-Indians did feel the loss of Delhi and the end of the Mughal Empire. This comes out best in the *musaddas* of Mirza Khan Dagh:—

> Zamin ke hal pe ab asman rota hai
> Harik faraq-e-makin men makan rota hai,
> Gada-o-Shah-o-Zaaef-o-Jawan rota hai,
> Garaz yahan ke liye ik jahan rota hai.

(Heaven is weeping over the condition of the earth/Every house is weeping over its separation from its dwellers/ The mendicant, the king, the old and the young—all are weeping/In short, the whole world is weeping over the ruin of this place).

The upheavals were not a high-caste one as many "low status" people joined in the revolts—the Pasis of Oudh, the Bhils in Rajputana, the Santals itching to kill the money-lenders protected by the Company in Bihar.

The fighting was unequal, as the rebels were outmatched in numbers and equipment. In the Bengal Army itself there were 50,000 Europeans *plus* 30,000 loyal *sepoys*, as against 70,000 revolting ones. Besides, the Rational-Mercantilists had the loyal Madras and Bombay armies and the Sikh and Gurkha contingents as well as the ubiquitous Bengali *babu* for the commissariat. The Rational-Mercantilists also had the telegraph, better equipment,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



and an excellent coordinating civil authority. The rebels had no central coordinating authority at all, although the various leaders knew, in a general way, what was happening elsewhere. A recent British commentator, Jon Manchip White, has spoken of the fatal immobility of the Indians.[11] Taken all in all, it was not a unified War of Independence, as it was described by Justin McCarthy in 1897 for the first time in his *History of Our Times*. There was no feeling of nationalism as yet, as has been mentioned earlier, nor even feelings of provincialism, but only of caste, of family pride, and of economic self-interest. It is surprising how, with all the odds against them, the rebels gave such a stiff fight for two years. Soviet historians rightly say that the revolts were broken by the military might of the British, backed by the resources of loyal provinces and the fighting skill of loyal sepoys.[12]

There were doughty fighters on both sides, like Hodson, Nicholson and Colin Campbell, Old *Khabardar* (careful) ; and Maulvi Ahmadullah of Fyzabad, Kunwar Singh of Arrah, Tantia Topi and the Rani of Jhansi. The British soldiers and officers, contrary to the image built up, were then voluble and full of sentiment, laughing and weeping easily.[13] Above all, they were people of the Viking, buccaneering type, eager for loot, medals, glory and rapid promotions. Fighting "Jack Pandy" was "a jolly lark", and if one was "crocked" or "knocked over" in the "scrimmage", it was the luck of the game.[14]

Tantia Topi was the last great exponent of Maratha guerrilla warfare, and gave the British no end of trouble until he was betrayed by a Rajput comrade. But the archetype of the Indian rebels was the brave and young Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, the Joan of Arc of India, who was barely 30 when she died in battle in 1858. At the time of her marriage, when the bridal knot was being tied, she shouted out, immodestly, *changli balkat ganth bandha* (tie the knot well), much to the horror of the assemblage, expecting a coy Hindu bride with downcast eyes. Alas, she became a widow early, and since she had only an adopted son, Dalhousie applied the "Doctrine of Lapse". When this was conveyed to her, she shouted out

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



in open court, defiantly—*meri Jhansi dungi nahi* ("I shall not give up my Jhansi"). She was a good athlete and organiser, and in the 1857-58 upheaval, her Jhansi, attacked by the British, by the Rani of Orchha and by Sindhia, fell after a long siege of the Stalingrad type, and fighting from street to street, house to house and room to room. She herself led her troops on horseback, and was a doughty fighter, killing many soldiers with her sword. Her *corps d'elite* was the trusted and ever loyal Afghan Guard, who handled the artillery. When Jhansi fell she slipped out, jumping the moat, and dashed to Gwalior, at the rear of the British. This she seized, a brilliant and daring move, like that of Clive at Arcot or MacArthur at Inchon. Fighting the British at the head of her troops she found martyrdom on the Agra-Gwalior Road in the hot month of June in 1858.

What did she look like? Wrote the English lawyer, John Lang, whom she consulted about the annexation of her state in 1856:[15]

> She was a woman of about middle size—rather stout but not too stout. Her face must have been very handsome when she was younger.....The expression also was very good, and very intelligent. The eyes were particularly fine, and the nose very delicately shaped. She was not very fair, though she was far from black..... Her dress was a plain white muslin, so fine in texture, and drawn about her in such a way, and so tightly, that the outline of her figure was plainly discernible—and a remarkably fine figure she had. What spoilt her was her voice."

This shapely Amazonian beauty, the epitome of human courage and resourcefulness, is still a living legend in myth and ballad in her Bundelkhand countryside. And she continues to inspire great novelists, not only in Marathi, her native tongue, but also in Hindi (Vrindavan Lal Varma) and distant Bengali (Mahasveta Devi). And Sir Hugh Rose, the British Commander-in-Chief, who had opposed her, writing his report of the Gwalior fighting

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



after the war was over, from his cool retreat in Poona, paused for a few moments, mused, and wrote the gallant but true words—"although a lady, she was the bravest and best military leader of the rebels. A man among the mutineers".

After the upheaval, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 set the tone of administration :—

no more annexations ; freedom of religion ; high offices to natives ; respect for native customs.

High offices were given to natives only tardily, but the other promises were kept. This is a matter for great regret as India was thus doomed to being pulled out of the Theo-Aristocratic Stage only at snail's pace. But obviously most people did not want much change, for when Curzon tried to hustle India, about fifty years later, he met with severe opposition—only partly caused by his notorious lack of tact.

The revolts seriously impaired the easy-going, informal, pleasant relationship which had existed between the British and the Indians. The India of William Hicky and James Sedley was there to be no more. Instead, there would be stiffness, formality, and avoidance on both sides for nearly a hundred years.

### F. What if the Indians had Won the 1857-59 Wars ?

What views can a modern Indian hold on the 1857 revolts ? At that time there was no nationalism, and different groups took decisions in the light of differing convictions and self-interests, which should not be subjected to the criteria of nationalist days. This having been said, there can be no doubt that the feeling of every Indian should be one of deepest admiration for the heroism, courage, daring and resourcefulness of those who wanted to see their country free. Of this there can be no scope for any doubt.

The situation being what it was there was no question of "Indians" winning as a single group. But the various Indian groups may still have ousted the British. Canning, the governor-general, had said that if Sindhia joined the rebels then he would have packed. And if the British had

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



gone, India would have been parcelled out between the contending power groups with military might behind them. The South and the Deccan, as well as Gujarat and Orissa, would undoubtedly have fallen to the Marathas. The bulk of the Indo-Gangetic Valley, including Bengal, would have been under the Poorbeahs (U.P. men), probably under a Nawab at Lucknow. The North West would have been under the Khalsa, which later would undoubtedly have become a Punjabi state, stretching to the Indus, and including Sindh in its territory. The Indus would have been the border with Afghanistan, which would have had access to the sea at the Baluchistan coast. The Burmese may have reconquered Assam, and the Nepalese the mountainous fringe of North India. The princes of Rajwara would have either been dusted off, or would have been vassals of either the Khalsa, or the Poorbeahs, or the Marathas, or to any combination of them. Urdu perhaps would have been the State language in the Northern States, and the "link-language" of the sub-continent.

The new states would have been forced to modernize themselves, if only to maintain independence. But modernization in defence technology implies prior economic development, which is again contingent on a modernization of the mind, of ideology. And if modernization in earnest had started then, the Indian states would have progressed very much faster than India actually did through the fitful and distorted modernization under foreign tutelage. France, and later Britain, would have cooperated with India, and fruitful Indo-French and Indo-British technical, industrial and economic partnership would have grown up. The grip of Pauranic Hinduism over people's minds would have eroded, and a defence-mechanism extolling, at least by implication, Pauranic Hinduism, as it actually took place, would not have been necessary. Linguism would not have been a problem as Urdu would have been the *lingua franca* and culture-language, the Muslim-Indians would have had no uneasiness in the mind, and defence-consciousness would have had a history right from 1857 instead of starting tardily in 1962 after the debacle against China.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Thus, the modernization process would have started in right earnest in 1857 and not 1947. The manageable state units would have grown along with the rest of the Industrial-Democratic world, mainly with British economic and industrial partnership. After all, that was the vision of the Munros, the Elphinstones and the Macaulays also, and not only of the Manchester Liberals. It was not only Richard Cobden who believed in 'honest trade' more than in Empire. Macaulay himself had said, in a speech in the House of Commons, in 1833 :[16] "To trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages". And it is permissible to imagine that a workable United States of South Asia, consisting of India and neighbouring areas, would have come into existence, say by 1950. The position of South Asia would have been much higher in the counsels of mankind than it is today, and she would also possibly have started contributing to world civilization, instead of merely drawing from it, as she does now, in the nineteen seventies.

## G. Configurational Dynamics

(a) *External Forces* : There was the constant stimuli of Scientific-Democratic Men from abroad. This was the chief motive force, conscious or unconscious, primary or secondary or tertiary, not only in the ideas and activities of the thought-leaders of the previous period, like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Derozeans and Quasi-Derozeans, but also of this period (1857-1947)—the nationalists, Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Dayananda Saraswati, Syed Ameer Ali, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi, Tagore, Aurobindo, Radhakrishnan, Iqbal, Nazrul Islam, Subhas Bose, M. N. Roy and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. British domination meant that the Indian "window to the world" was through Britain. There was practically no direct relationship of any kind with other countries, even with neighbours. The links with Britain, economic and cultural, became quicker and closer after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



(b) *Mastery over Nature*: Engendered first by the Scientific-Democratic men—railways, roads, irrigation canals, coal, light engineering, plantation industries. The needs of the war machine of the two World Wars caused significant improvement in the mastery over natural resources. In this process Indians had naturally to participate, seeing the vastness of the effort involved, and a small technically knowledgable and proficient class, largely concentrated in the cities and in a few other places (sites of factories etc.), grew up.

(c) *Internal Relations and Class Forces*: (i) At the top were the Scientific-Democratic rulers from abroad, organised in a Mandarinate, a Governing Corporation, the Indian Civil Service. In the Theo-Aristocratic matrix it functioned in a Theo-Aristocratic way (as seen in the concept of *'huzoor ma-baap'*—the ruler is mother and father).

Below this layer came the foreign businessmen, private technocrats, managing agents. After 1905, Curzon, by his hustling methods, created a small public sector.

The Fighting Forces were practically wholly British in its officerdom. However, the exigencies of the Second World War forced the Rulers from Abroad to create a fairly large class of native military officers, out of which grew the officer corps of India and Pakistan. The air force was comparatively weak, the navy weaker still, as the Scientific-Democrats relied on the British Navy. Hence, the military and defence heritage bequeathed in 1947 was comparatively niggardly. The ordinary soldiers, the *jawans,* had been denied the use of artillery and of sophisticated weapons after the 1857-59 upheaval. But the Second World War forced the rulers to reverse this policy.

So, all in all, a weak, not very self-confident, small military class came to exist by 1947. In Pakistan (the North West portion of the subcontinent) its relative influence was much more than in India because the other classes, commercial, professional etc, were less developed, (as the Muslim-Indians held aloof from *kafer* or infidel ideas for long), the military-official-landowning classes

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



formed a close matrix, and there was a rich heritage of fighting traditions going back to Aryan warrior-nomad days.

(ii) Princes, with modern education starting among them from Lord Mayo's (1869-72) time/old landed aristocracy/new zamindars/absentee landlords /members of the provincial and subordinate civil services—overwhelmingly pro-ruler and anti-nationalist, conservative in socio-economic matters.

(iii) Professional classes, intelligentsia—lawyers, doctors etc. journalists, teachers, lower civil servants. Imbued in some manner or other with Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic ideas, including nationalism. The higher ranks for peaceful constitutional agitation, the lower increasingly for quicker and more dramatic methods.

(iv) Business classes, shopkeepers etc. Parsees in commerce and as pioneers of modern industry (also professional men, teachers etc.), the most modernised group in India, easy transition from Theo-Mercantile to Rational-Mercantile and then Scientific-Democratic/Gujaratis and Sindhis in prosperous export business. Gujaratis also owners of cotton textile mills after making money in the cotton boom during the American Civil War (1861-65), as suppliers of cotton to Lancashire/Marwari prosperity with *Pax Britannica* and ease of communications—roads, railways, posts and telegraphs etc. Money-lending, dealers in articles of everyday use. Widespread all over North India/localised business groups—Khatris in the Punjab, Agarwals in North India, Chettis in the South.

All these business groups were more progressive in practical matters than other Theo-Aristocratic groups. But except for the Khatris, influenced by the Arya Samaj, were more conservative ideologically, and they took late to "Western" learning and "Western" notions. But they were attracted to the *Swadeshi* ("home made") doctrines of nationalists, which benefitted them, and they came increasingly to finance the latter.

(v) Vast masses of illiterate peasants and de-industrialised artisans, steeped in superstition, in the subsistence sector of the economy. Practically untouched by "modern"

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ideas, "areas of darkness", neglected by the elite, who cared nothing for "lower caste" people, an attitude hardened by feelings of being "Aryan", a master-people of different racial origin, under the influence of the Jones-Colebrooke-Max Müller hypothesis.

(vi) "Working classes" in cities and factory areas—half-peasants, bound to *sardars* and *mistries,* living in *bastis* and *chawls.* Carriers of modern ideas and ideals, even if in a half-baked way.

As the Muslim-Indians held aloof from the *Angrez Kafir* (English infidel) for nearly two generations, compared to the Hindu-Indians, there was a development gap as between these two groups. This gave rise to a rivalry-feeling between them.

Of the various classes only the intelligentsia and to some extent the working classes, besides the Parsees, were imbued with "modern" ideas. Again, except for the Parsees, these ideas had not had time to go down too deep, and co-existed with Theo-Aristocratic notions—the notorious co-existence in India, of Ideas and Concepts of Different Stages, so bewildering to straight-cut outsiders belonging to societies in a single or closely related Stages of Civilization.

(d) *Burden of Tradition* : Superiority-feeling among Muslim-Indian elite as erstwhile rulers of the sub-continent Stages, so bewildering to straight-cut outsiders belong-Muslim Theo-Aristocracies, the former more 'Theo' than 'Aristo', too deeply embedded to respond to the weak stimuli of the Rational-Mercantile ('Bourgeois') and the Scientific-Democratic ('Modern'). Hence society was still largely only Quasi-Bourgeois and Quasi-Modern at the thin top layers by 1947, supported by a huge Theocratic and Theo-Aristocratic base.

## H. Ninety Years to Freedom

After winning in the 1857-59 wars the British Crown (the *Raj*) took over the administration of India from the East India Company. Recruitment of soldiers from (the present) Uttar Pradesh was stopped. Also, Indian soldiers

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



were denied promotion to Commissioned ranks as a matter of policy and neither was there any direct Indian recruitment thereto. The artillery was also withheld from Indians. The Muslims, suspected by many of the British (wrongly) to be the prime movers of the revolts, were eyed with suspicion, and they withdrew into their shells. For a generation everything was quiet. Then the Indian National Congress was started in 1885 by liberal British civil servants and other Radical Englishmen, like Allan Octavian Hume, William Wedderburn, W. S. Caine, Charles Bradlaugh etc. to voice grievances annually, through polite petitions and memorials. Other such groups were also formed like Justice M. G. Ranade's *Sarvajanik Sabha* at Poona; and Surendra Nath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose's Indian Association. Of these only the Congress proved to be long-lived and is, to-day, in the nineteen-seventies, the premier political party in India.

All these groups agitated against various discriminations against Indians, viz. in press matters, as regards the Arms Act etc. The local language and Indian-owned English-language newspapers supported them and had great influence in preaching the ideas of nationalism and freedom. Prominent among these were:—

—From Calcutta, the *Hindu Patriot* (under the editorship of Hurrish Chandra Mukherji); Surendra Nath Banerjee's *The Bengalee*; the *Indian Mirror;* the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Sisir and Motilal Ghosh; the pice papers of Bengal like *Bangobasi* (Jogendra Nath Bose) and the *Sanjibani* (Kristo Kumar Mitter).

—From Poona, Bal Gangadhar Tilak's *Kesari.*

—From Madras, the *Hindu,* established by Subramanya Aiyar and M. Viraraghavachariar.

—From Bombay, Behramji Malabari's the *Indian Spectator* (specially in social reforms); the *Bombay Samachar;* and the *Ras Goftar* (under Kaikhusru Kabraji).

—From Lahore, Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia's *Tribune.*

Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) started the economic drain theory, advocated rapid industrialisation, and popularised the *swadeshi* ("home made"—Buy Indian) concept.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Mrs Annie Besant, the Theosophical leader, in the first decade of the twentieth century, preached fervently the idea of "Home Rule", which was echoed by Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale in their *Swarajya* ("Own Rule") concept. Tilak introduced religious and provincial feelings into nationalism by his Ganapati and Shivaji festivals. (end 19th/beginning 20th century).

The rulers followed a *divide et impera* policy. Ellenborough (1843) had spoken out in favour of the Hindus. Faced with the growing seditiousness of the Hindus, specially of the favoured Bengalis, Government began to heed pleas of Muslim leaders, and began to substitute Muslims for Bengalis and others. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Governor of East Bengal and Assam, was more than figurative when he said that he had two wives (of doubtful propriety in a Portestant Christian !), one of them Hindu and the other Muslim, and that he preferred the latter !

The vast bulk of India's population is descended basically from Food-Gatherers and Matrifocal Peasants without traditions of organised fighting. The descendants of Advanced Hunters in the Deccan and of Pastoral Warrior nomads in the North West took to the service of the conquerors after the 1857-59 debacles and sided with them. No elite class likes to lose power and would fight for it as best as it can. Hence, the *niyogi* (worldly) type of Brahman elite, with their Kayastha (scribe) hangers-on, fought the British Scientific-Democrats by non-violent means, by petitions, memorials and agitations. This was permitted in Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic Civilizations, which were not so much based on naked violence as was the Theo-Aristocratic. Gradually the Indian *baniya* was also drawn into the vortex of Indian politics, through the *swadeshi* ("Home made") concept, out of a sense of economic rivalry with the British businessmen. The *Brahman-Baniya* combination, the former providing the brains and the direction, and the latter the money, effected in Mahatma Gandhi's time in the 1920's, was a powerful counter-force against the British. When the fighting peoples also joined the Nationalists in the nineteen-forties (the Indian National Army of Subhas Chandra Bose, the Royal

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Indian Navy Mutiny etc.) the British ruling class saw the hand-writing on the wall. It was fortunate that the Progressives of Britain, in the form of the Labour Party, were in power then, and not the Conservatives. If it had been the latter, then India would indeed have known the violence and the blood-shed associated with the French in Indo-China and the Dutch in Indonesia, who were ejected forcibly out of their former colonies. The pattern of the emerging ruling elite group in India would also then have been different-predominantly modern military (not *kshatriya,* which had committed suicide over 2000 years ago), in alliance with the *Brahman* and the *Baniya,* rather than the present *Baniya-Brahman* hegemony with the military as a tool.

Leaving iut the 1857-59 revolts, there were eight bouts, in most of which the Scientific-Democratic men from abroad won, as the tabloid below will show:

| | *Rounds* | *Victors* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Petitions and Memorials (1859-1905). | British. |
| 2. | Swadeshi Era (1905-11). Against the partition of Bengal etc. Led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. | Indians (Morley-Minto Reforms as concessions). |
| 3. | Home Rule League era of Mrs Annie Besant and Tilak (1911-18). Muhammad Ali Jinnah a powerful supporter of Mrs Besant. | Indians (Montagu-Chelmsford concessions) (Dyarchy in the Provinces). |
| 4. | Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Era (1918-25). | British. |
| 5. | Swarajist - Responsivist Era of Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das (1926-30), fighting from within the Councils. | British. |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. | Civil Disobedience Era of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru (1930-34). | Indians (The 1935 Act—Provincial Autonomy). |
| 7. | Growth of Leftism (Jawahar Lal Nehru) and of Terrorism (1934-39). | British. |
| 8. | "Quit India" Movement of August 1942 (Jay Prakash Narayan and Aruna Asaf Ali). The Indian National Army (Subhas Bose). Mutiny in the Indian Navy. Indian Air Force strikes. | Indians (British withdrawal). |

India was now linked with the world, and the two movements of Mahatma Gandhi more or less coincided with world-wide economic recessions and depressions, which hit Indian peasants and *baniyas* very much.

(*i*) *Terrorism and armed violence;* (*ii*) *leftism and leftist strikes;* (*iii*) *propaganda through Indians abroad;* (*iv*) *propaganda by, and on their own, of liberal foreigners, chiefly British and American.*

The Terrorist movement drew its initial inspiration from the valiant Maharashtrians, the Chapekar brothers (1897) and V. D. Savarkar. Later, Aurobindo Ghosh, with his paper *Bande Mataram,* (Hail Mother) was one of the architects of Bengal Terrorism. This was organised in two big groups—the loosely federated *Jugantar* ("Turning of the Epoch") of West Bengal, under Jatin Mukherjee, and the more centralised *Anusheelan* ("Following Through") of East Bengal under Pulin Das. Hem Chandra Ghosh organised the *Bengal Volunteer Group* in Calcutta, round the magazine, *Benu.* The *Shree Sangha* of Dacca under Anil Roy and his wife Leela Roy (nee Nag) concentrated more on social service and women's liberation. Women were trained in physical culture, in sword-fighting, *lathi* play, the used of the dagger, and in *judo.* Leela Roy also ran a magazine, *Jayasree,* where women's liberation was integrated with wider issues of independence and social progress.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The *Swadesh Bandhab Samiti* of Ashwini Kumar Datta and Swami Prajnanananda of Barisal also deserves mention.

Three journals wrote fiery articles urging the youth to sacrifice themselves in the cause of Mother Bengal, who was no other than Mother Durga—the *Bande Mataram* of Aurobindo and his brother Barin Ghosh; the *Sandhya* ("Twilight") of Brahma-bandhab Upadhyay; and the *Jugantar* ("Turning of the Epoch") of Bhupendra Nath Datta, the brother of Swami Vivekananda.

The Bengali *bhadralok* (gentry), by tradition, did not carry arms. Instead of "having it out" with swords or pistols, enemies lashed out at each other with scorpion-like tongues, or pens dripping with vitriol. For the *bhadralok* to kill and lay down the life when caught was a stirring experience, brought to them, vicariously, by Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose for the first time, and subsequently by many others. All these terrorist organisations gave the British no end of trouble in the first forty years of the twentieth century. Nettled by them the capital was shifted, after over 150 years at Calcutta, (from 1757), to Delhi (1911).

The terrorist movement spread to lion-hearted Punjab, specially among the forthright Sikhs, and took the form of the *Ghadr* (Rebellion) party. The *Ghadr* attempt at rebellion in the Punjab was foiled by informers in 1915; 42 of their leaders were hanged and others were given savage sentences of imprisonment.

In the Easter of 1930 Surya Sen ("Masterda") and others, including the fearless Bengali woman, Kalpana Datta, seized the Chittagong Armoury and held out against the British for some time.

Another group, outside Bengal, was the Hindusthan Republic Association of Ramprasad Bismil and Ashfaqulla. This group became Socialist under Chandra Sekhar Azad, who was killed by the British in 1931. Other terrorist leaders like Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Rajguru, Batukeshwar Datta etc. all ended their lives on the scaffold.

The violent August 1942 Movement of Jay Prakash Narayan and Aruna Asaf Ali did not spread because the war gave jobs to millions—soldiers, workers in factories,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



supply organisations, defence undertakings. Pure nationalism, even in 1942, was still a fledgeling growth, and could not take wings. The factory employment alone arose from about 1.7 million in 1939 to about 2.4 million by 1949[17]. The *total* employment increase has been calculated by Datar and Patel to be of the order of 103 per cent.[18] In an economy where prosperity is marginal, as in India, this was indeed a great boost to people's livelihood, and so the people kept quiet all through the years 1939 to 1945.

Aruna Asaf Ali, who gave glamour to the August 1942 Movement, is a lady *sans peur et sans reproche,* one of the very few political leaders who retained their erstwhile idealism and their purity of thought and action even after Independence.

The greatest of the insurrectors was, of course, *Netaji* ("Respected Leader") Subhas Chandra Bose, with his Indian National Army, siding with the Japanese (1942-45). Subhas Bose's slogan, *Jai Hind.* ("Victory to India"), came to be used by his rival, Jawahar Lal Nehru, a slogan which has come into common use in India today as a form of greeting and of valediction. Michael Edwardes, in his fulsome praise, now that British rule over India is past, speaks of him as the person "who was to turn.....the National Army into a genuine revolutionary movement aimed at liberating India from the British.[19] Another British writer, Hugh Toye, has called him, admiringly, *The Springing Tiger,* in his biography of him, perhaps the only perceptive one so far amidst other books, which are mainly hagiographies.

Perhaps if India had won her independence by violence there would have been less of processions, demonstrations, indirect pressures to achieve ends than there are today, and a more direct, manly blow-given blow-taken mentality, and decisions on objectivity and merit. But unarmed India, the end-product of a complicated history, could not but have followed the path chalked out by the Mahatma, the romantic-militant adventure by Netaji being only a welcome adjunct.

Another adjunct was made up of Leftist propaganda and strikes, like the Sholapur Rising of 1930. The Congress Party, the vanguard, then consisted largely of the urban

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



and village petty bourgeoisie, supported by merchants, who stood to gain by *Swadeshi* ("of one's own country") purchases. There was comparatively little of peasant unrest, workers' strikes, and class-conscious activities of the working people. Sincere and brave souls like M. N. Roy, Muzaffar Ahmad and S. A. Dange tried to stiffen peasants and workers in the nineteen-thirties. They organised peasant movements in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and elsewhere, instituted trade unions among workers, and formed the All-India Trade Unions Congress. The more militant and direct Communists led strikes against employers, who were eager for independence, but unwilling even to consider workers as human beings. Some Englishmen joined the Leftists, as for instance, Philip Spratt and Lester Hutchinson, in the Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929). The 1929-36 slump gave a great fillip to Leftist movements, culminating in the formation of the Communist Party of India.

Indian workers abroad came to constitute another tributary which fed the waters of nationalism. Such were people like Shyamaji Krishnavarma, V. D. Savarkar and Har Dayal in London, and Madame Cama and Ajit Singh in the Continent. Some of these leaders were also dreamers, and Utopian humanitarians, but this does not detract from their utter devotion and life-long dedication. Largely of the same genus was V. K. Krishna Menon, with his India League in London, and people like J. J. Singh in the United States.

Liberal foreign friends abroad, chiefly journalists and public figures, constituted another stream aiding Indian independence. Thus, to name a few at random, Fenner Brockway, Rev. Martin Sorensen, H. N. Brailsford, Kingsley Martin (of "New Statesman and Nation") and Harold Laski in England; Louis Fisher, Norman Thomas, and the Nobel Prize winning Mrs. Pearl Buck in the United States; and Romain Rolland in France-Switzerland. The activities of this small, but very influential group should never be minimised in our consideration of things past.

The sources of inspiration of the Nationalist leaders were mainly foreign, largely of Scientific-Democratic provenance, as indicated below :[20]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Mahatma Gandhi:* Gujarat Vaishnavism; Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" idea; the no-resistance and passive resistance ideas of Tolstoy; Ruskin's ideas contained in his *Unto this Last* (christened by the Mahatma as *Sarvodaya*); the "Constant Activity" philosophy of the *Bhagavad Gita;* the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus Christ.

(*Transmutation*)

*Proponents of Violence*: Russian Nihilists; Irish terrorists; also Cavour Mazzini and Garibaldi; in Bengal, Aurobindo suffused this with the worship of the Warrior Goddess, Durga.

(*Appropriation*)

*Leftists:* Fabians, Beatrice and Sydney Webb, Harold Laski, Bernard Shaw, "The New Statesman and Nation". Some were Gaskists, a mixture of Mahatma Gandhi and Harold Laski.

(*Appropriation*)

*Indian workers abroad:* Chiefly old-fashioned Mazzinian nationalists.

(Appropriation)

*Foreign friends:* Humanitarian, cosmopolitan liberals, *Avant garde* of the forthcoming International Civilization.

## I. The Necessity of Bureaucracy

### *Propagation of New Values restricted*

After the 1857-59 revolts, the Scientific-Democratic Men restricted the scope of the propagation of their values.[21] Hopes, formerly held, that the elite would become Christians were abandoned. The "Indian States" would be allowed to go in their own slothful, custom-ridden, "medieval" ways. In "British India" justice on the English model would be meted out, some utilitarian services rendered, roads, canals, bridges, offices, official buildings, the minimum necessary, would be built. The Rulers would live as a separate sub-caste, having little to do even with Eurasians and Indian Christians, and still less with Indians, except for official purposes. The only Indians who may know them intimately would be the servants, *ayahs* and bearers. No social changes would be attempted. When Lord Dufferin (1884-92) momentarily forgot these reservations and tried to raise the age of marriage and so prevent child marriage, there was such an outcry that the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



attempt was abandoned. And, on the welfare side, in accordance with the prevailing *laissez-faire* philosophy at home, the minimum possible work would be undertaken. There would be no effort at teaching better methods even in agriculture or industry, But the Scientific-Democratic Men tried to implant a very good system of routine administration.

*Administration further modernised*

The no-nonsense Law Member, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, master-minded Commissions which led to several important legal enactments—the Succession Act, 1865 ; the Evidence Act, 1872 ; the Contract Act, 1872 ; the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881 ; the Trusts Act, 1882 ; the Transfer of Property Act, 1882 ; and the Easements Act, 1882. Hindu and Muslim personal laws were not codified, but even the adaptation of English laws to India which were made led to a growing sense of individual right as against complete self-effacement before the group. And certain features, like the right of making wills, was completely new to Hindu society. A whole generation of Indians came to be permeated with new legal ideas, and a bright and strong professional class of lawyers grew up. It is this class which provided India with its new leaders. Even as late as the nineteen-forties, the leaders of the sub-continent, Mahatma Gandhi, Qaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel, were all lawyers.

An open competitive system for the higher civil service was instituted in 1853 at London, as has already been stated. The principles laid down in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report of 1854 (for the Home Civil Service) came to be followed. This Report borrowed the mandarinate system, operating in China from Han times 2000 years ago, and systematically from the T'ang period (began in the 8th century A. D.). Apart from the campetitive examination system its three main planks were : (i) separation of intellectual and mechanical labour ; (ii) recruitment of "gentlemen" from the universities ; (iii) "generalism" against departmental specialization. (Hallmarks of the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Rational-Mercantile rather than of the Scientific-Democratic).

Benjamin Jowett, the Oxford Classical scholar, was one of those who devised the examination system. He gave great importance to the *viva voce* and held up as ideal Plato's "Guardians". The theoretical training of the Mandarinate was supplemented by training "on-the-job" (to use a later term) in the "Districts" of India.

The Law Member, Stephen, in his reforms (1869-72), left the administration of criminal law with the executive, while allocating civil law to the judiciary. He put it thus:[22] 'The maintenance of the position of the District Officers is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British rule in India.' The District Officer was to be the real local governor of the country. A logical consequence of such ideas was the separation of the judiciary from the executive in 1878.

The Indian Civil Service (the Imperial cadre) remained very much of a British service almost to 1947. It was a super-cadre, a political corporation, the members of which could aspire to become members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and governors. They were the representatives of Scientific-Democratic England, but usually neither "scientific" nor "democratic" themselves. Trained in the traditions of the English Theo-Aristocracy ("gentlemen") they were expected to shoot, go hunting (*shikar*) and pig-sticking, play polo etc. as part of their way of life in India. In other words, live like British Lords, although they may have originated, as most of them did, from the British middle classes. But coming from a Scientific-Democratic Society, they brought with them, willy-nilly, a very great deal of intellectuality as compared to the Indian Theo-Aristocratic, an intellectuality which they played down in the make-believe of being British Lords—which the Viceroy invariably was, as also were some of the governors. In the Indian Theo-Aristocratic setting, completely outnumbered, they imbibed Theo-Aristocratic attitudes, summarised and symbolised in the Indian appellation for them—*huzoor-ma-baap* (Lord, mother-father).

James Wilson as Finance Member reorganised Indian

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



finances and presented the first budget in 1861; he introduced the paper currency and the income-tax. Mayo (1869-72) introduced decentralization to the provinces. Ripon, in 1883, constituted District and Local Boards of the British type. The idea was not only to train Indians in local self-government, but also to produce conditions where Indians and the British could work together. On the far from reconciliatory side Curzon, Viceroy from 1899 to 1905, made the Police into an effective force by increasing their pay and prospects. He instituted an "Intelligence Wing" of it, mainly political, the dreaded "Criminal Investigation Department" (CID), the analogue of the later Cheka, Ogpu, Gestapo and C. I. A., indeed their predecessor.

The framework of Indian administration, which still exists practically unimpaired, was thus firmly established. (*Propagation*)

*The necessity of bureaucracy*

It is fashionable now-a-days in India to abuse the bureaucracy—partly a rebound from the excessive veneration paid to it in the past; partly the grinding of teeth of those who have not had it their own way in the matter of licences, permits and so on; and quite largely righteous anger at the manifold delays, petty pin-pricks and humiliations, and absurdities of Theo-Aristocratic officialdom, each member of it a small, tyrannical *zamindar*. Professor William Robson says, however:[23] "Bureaucracy is clearly indispensable to modern government. This is not merely because it is far more efficient than the older method of working and of management which it has supersided, but also because it is a levelling, rationalising force. It uses objective methods of recruitment in place of neopotism and patronage; it seeks to promote according to merit rather than for political or personal reasons. It administers on the basis of rules, precedents and policy rather than on grounds of personal feeling, influence or favouritism. It tries to formulate quantitative measurements of efficiency. It aims at constancy of treatment in its dealings with the public. These and many other advantages are derived from modern bureaucratic administration."

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Professor K. C. Wheare[24] has pointed out that there are many more bureaucrats outside government than within it, and that the state must have its own bureaucracy if it is to hold its own with, or control, other institutions possessing their own powerful bureaucracies.

Professor Herbert A. Simon[25] regards it as an approximate synonym for large-scale organisation.

And Dean Paul Appleby[26] says that it is inseparable from "the phenomenon of systematic interaction of many persons associated in common and complex terms".

All this is the ideal—even for Scientific-Democratic ('modern') societies. In India, even in British days, because of the surrounding "medieval" environment, the administration was Quasi-Modern. It has become more so after Independence when the political masters are themselves Quasi-Modern, like their bureaucratic servants. But the structure and the system has prevented the worst excesses of feudal or *zamindari* whimsicality, for which India has to thank deeply her erstwhile Scientific-Democratic masters.

### J. Transformation in Science and Technology

*Initial impetus by private technocracy*

We have seen that Dalhousie started the electric telegraph and the railways. This was largely on the pressure of British Rational-Mercantile groups in Calcutta—the Calcutta Trade Association, founded in 1830, and the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1834.[27] And the beginnings of industrial technicalization in the form of light industry were laid by the construction of a cotton mill at Broach in 1835 by the American, Landon; and the foundation, in 1854, of Cowasjee Davar's steam cotton-spinning factory at Bombay, and of a jute mill near Calcutta by a Dundee jute manufacturer (*Imposition/Parsee Appropriation*).

*Curzon's hustling*

George Nathaniel Curzon was Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. He was an English lord, of Norman descent (of which he was very proud), and therefore a Theo-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Aristocrat; but he was also a man of the Scientific-Democratic Civilization, of Consciousness X. Thus, on the one side (Aristocratic) he tried to keep India down; and on the other (Scientific-Democratic) to drag India out into the 20th century. The two aims were inconsistent and bred numerous inharmonies, and led to mixed motives on Curzon's part. By and large Indians have not as yet understood Curzon nor forgiven him.

On the Scientific-Democratic side he:

(i) Opened the Agriculture Department in 1901, after the 1900 famine. The idea was to teach Indians modern methods of farming and cattle-breeding. For this purpose an institute was started at Pusa in Bihar with £ 30,000 donated by the American millionaire, Henry Phipps. This became the nucleus of agricultural modernisation in India. (ii) Set up a Commerce and Industry Department in 1905 to encourage trade, industry and manufactures. (iii) Laid emphasis on technical education and instituted a separate degree course for science subjects.

It must be said that there was no overwhelming demand for these measures—the elites busied themselves with questions of political power and of ideology, and of making money, not of technology or technicalization. (*Imposition*)

*The imperative of the World Wars*

During the First World War, because of the absence of competition, cotton textiles shot ahead. Jute and coal-mining, as well as steel, fed the war-machine. Leather, soap, fish-canning, wool and ship-building industries benefitted. This nascent industry forced on the Government a policy of protection, under which some industries grew up. By 1939 India was producing, per annum, 1.2 million tons of cement, 60,000 tons of paper, 4.3 billion yards of cotton piece-goods, 1.6 million tons of pig iron and over 1 million ton of steel, while industries like cycle and textile machinery had already emerged.[28] All this was very small indeed, but it was a beginning, and Indians had a good share in this technicalization.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



During the Second World War there was, of necessity, an expansion in these industries, to the extent that the restraints of technical know-how, technical personnel, raw materials and transport facilities permitted. The general index of industrial production, with the base year 1937=100, rose to 120.1 by 1945, the more prominent increases being, cotton textiles to 120, steel to 142.9, chemicals to 126.3, paper to 196.5, cement to 196.5 and coal to 116.4.[29] New industries were created, such as ferroalloys; metal fabricating such as copper, copper sheets, wires, and cables; mechanical industries such as diesel engines, pumps, sewing machines, machine tools, and cutting tools; some items of textile, tea, and oil-pressing machinery; and chemicals, which included caustic soda, chlorine, superphosphates, photographic chemicals, and bichromates.[30]

Thus, a degree of technicalization and industrialization, of some sophistication, grew apace in India, forced by the two World Wars. And, much of it was Indian. (*Appropriation*)

*Parsee interest in Science and technology*

State efforts were supplemented by private Indian enterprise, the first group entering the field being Parsee. H. K. Takahashi has pointed out that industrial capitalism arose following two paths—from industrial producer to merchant capitalist-cum-industrialist; and from merchant to industrialist.[31] Japan and West Europe followed the first path,[32] while in India the second route prevailed, due to the relative weakness of the technical tradition in a Theo-Aristocratic millieu. An exception to this were the Parsees. In pre-British days, the Parsees were not only traders, but also artisans, carpenters, weavers etc. Their exploits in ship-building, in setting up textile mills etc. have been mentioned in the last chapter. To the craft and industry tradition is due the Parsee interest in research, like those of West European, American and Japanese industrialists, of similar origin, and unlike other Indian industrialists, largely of pure mercantile origins.[33] Typical Parsee creations in this field of industrial enterprise, research and innovation are the Tata Iron and Steel Works

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



at Jamshedpur, the Tata Hydro-Electric Co., the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore (originally a Parsee creation), the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre.

*General Indian lack of interest in science and technology*

Other Indians were generally very little interested in science and technology. Many scientific institutes were, indeed, started and many Indian men of science got recognition. Indeed, one of them, Sir C. V. Raman, got the Nobel prize for his researches in light. But these were exceptions. Curzon had forced a separate science degree on the educational system, but in the first decade of the 20th century, 81 per cent of students graduating did so in arts, 9 per cent in medicine, 4 per cent in engineering, and only 2 per cent in science.[34] By 1939 there were only 7 engineering colleges with 2217 students—a pitifully small number measured against the vast Indian population. The fault must be laid at the door of us Indians. We were not sufficiently interested in science and technology—as we are still not today. Nothing prevented rich men setting up scientific and technological institutions. But the will was not there, although individuals tried to create interest. Thus, in Bengali, Akshay Kumar Dutt, as already mentioned in the last chapter, Swarna Kumari Devi (1856-1932), the elder sister of Rabindra Nath Tagore, and Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (1864-1919). But all these efforts did not bear adequate fruit, so much so that we do not have magazines of the type of "Popular Science" or "Popular Mechanics" in our bookstands. And the popular scientific magazines which come out find it hard to survive. This is so because in a Theo-Aristocratic milieu science and technology are hot-house plants. If there is a goodly prevalence of the scientific attitude, people will question caste, and the superiority of caste-based elitism, seriously enough to force social changes. Hence, the reservations of the elite about science except for applied technology. Still, one can go along a certain length of the way, learning By The Book, without getting deep into scientific method, as has happened. But to be "self-starters" a

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Scientific Consciousness is essential, for which it is both necessary to do away with the mass of superstitions that is Pauranic Hinduism, and substitute something fresh in its place; and also to inculcate, down to the countryside, the scientific method taught by Galileo and by Descartes.

## K. Economic Transformation/the Indian Consciousness

*British Scientific Democrats (Private Sector) create the "Modern" Sector*

Industrialisation came to India under the auspices of British Scientific-Democratic Private Technocracy, through the "Managing Agency" system. This was a device, according to the American observer, Wilfred Malenbaum, by which a relatively small group assumed leadership, and provided finance, for a number of "Miscellaneous, independent operating companies engaged in a variety of producing and trading activities".[35] The directors and the shareholders, under this system, became relieved of all real responsibility. The Managing Agents, acting on their behalf, were naturally cautious and conservative in investing in new industrial ventures. As Vera Anstey, the *doyenne* of economists specialising on India in her days, has said:[36]— "They have tended to favour commercial rather than industrial enterprises, to the detriment of the economic development of India."

The Managing Agents, all British, provided the technical expertise, managerial skills and organisation, and the British foreign exchange banks the necessary venture capital.

The railways led to a good deal of internal development. Jawahar Lal Nehru has said:[37]—"The coming of the railway to India brought the industrial age on its positive side; so far only the negative aspect, in the shape of manufactured goods from Britain, had been in evidence". Along with the railways came internal price equalization; the famine problem ceased to be local; slave emancipation became a reality due to mobility of travel. Canal and irrigation works, specially of the Punjab, led to surpluses which the railways carried. Plantation industries like

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



jute and tea, as well as coal mining, received a great fillip. For railway repairs (later, mill repairs), a small engineering industry grew up.

The railways, irrigation canals, the tea and jute plantations, coal mining, engineering workshops, the jute and cotton mills, the Managing Agency system and the foreign exchange banks all together laid the foundations of the infra-structure of a modern industrial state. It was largely British. It was paltry, compared to India's size. It was imbalanced, largely situated round big ports like Calcutta and Bombay and it did not increase rural consumer capacity.[38]

The services were paid for dearly. The tariffs favoured British industrial goods.[39] The countryside was pauperised, de-industrialised. In the face of competition from cheap machine made goods, the costlier indigenous handicraft industries decayed.[40] Iron foundry, hand-spinning and minor industries were almost eliminated.[41] The handicraftsmen were forced back on agriculture and unskilled occupations. Between 1921 and 1931 the percentage of landless labourers increased from 29% to 40%, but the trend had started earlier.[42] Even as late as 1900 the farmers paid dearly for political organisation— 50% of the revenue came from land.[43] And adequate amounts did not go back into the countryside. Widespread famines between 1859 and 1901 led to about 28 million starvation deaths.[44] There were price rises everywhere. Nevertheless, such is the strength of even a marginal Scientific-Democratic economy, real wages increased according to the studies of Moni Mukherji and Jurgen Kuczynski.[45]

By the end of the period the country was divided into a "modern sector" and a "subsistence sector". The "modern sector" consisted of the export business in food (strange as it may seem in 1974, India exported wheat for the major part of this period) and raw materials, and the import of machine made consumer goods; a modern banking system and a modern transportation system; mines and plantations; and a small amount of "modern industry", mainly cotton textiles and jute. The "subsistence sector" was composed of handicrafts and cottage in-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



dustries, agricultural production other than plantation crops, and the handling of agricultural produce. The modern sector was financed by the foreign banks and controlled by the Managing Agents, all overwhelmingly British. The indigenous bankers and money-lenders continued to finance the subsistence sector. Between the two sectors there was alarming discrepancy. In 1938-39 Bengal and Bombay, that is to say largely Calcutta and Bombay, had about two-thirds of all the workers engaged in large-scale industrial establishments.[46] (*Imposition*).

*Indian economy drawn into the world vortex*

Railways and a degree of industrialisation drew the Indian economy into the world vortex, and this was given a tremendous fillip by the opening of the Suez canal in 1869. By 1908 overseas trade was five times the value of what it was in 1856, although prices were slightly lower.[47]

International happenings now began to influence India quickly. The Crimean War, leading to a cessation of flax exports from Russia to Scotland, led some Scotsmen to found jute mills in Bengal. The first such mill was founded in 1854 and by 1882 the number was 20, with 20,000 employees.

The American Civil War of 1861-65 gave a boom to cotton production for export to Lancashire in place of imports thereto from America, which ceased for the duration of the war. The handloom workers were ruined because of the consequent steep rise in raw cotton prices. When the war ceased, the rich cotton merchants, Gujaratis and Parsees, started cotton mills. The ruination of handloom and the fall of international and internal cotton prices, now that cotton cultivation in the United States and its availability increased, helped the cotton-mill tycoons once again. (*Imposition-Appropriation*).

The two World Wars had such important effect on India that they will be dealt with in a separate sub-section.

Even the countryside was not untouched by the economic linkage with the world in the 1914-22 period (the war and its aftermath). There was a growth in the number of joint stock companies and of peasants drifting to cities as workers. During 1923-27 there was a world-wide

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



fall in agricultural prices, and hence some rural depression. The workless rural labour found its way to the towns. During the world economic depression years, 1927-33, there was unemployment in industries and stagnation, side by side with the growth of Indian cartels and monopolies. During the 1934-39 period the stagnation in agriculture continued and the Total Sown Area actually declined.

*Indians cry out for Swadeshi ("home made")*

The triumphant British Scientific-Democratic economic march did not go unprotested. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) in his *Poverty and un-British Rule in India* taught, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, that the basic cause of India's poverty lay in the British exploitation of India and the drain on its wealth—the "economic drain". He put this at about 30-40 million a year, on account of "Home Remittance", purchases abroad etc. He accused the British of destroying India's indigenous industries and advocated rapid industrialisation to remove India's poverty. And this, he and his followers pleaded, could only be done through tariff protection and government aid, as was being done in contemporary Germany, although this view ran counter to the prevailing one of *laissez faire* in Britain. Naoroji and his followers thus popularised the idea of *swadeshi* ("of one's own country") ; the boycott of British goods and the use of Indian goods to promote industries. In this idea lay the germ of future collaboration of Nationalists with Indian mill-owning and industrial interests. Following the *swadeshi* doctrine students of Poona and other towns in Maharashtra publicly burnt foreign cloth in 1896. The Bengali *babu,* in the 1905 movement against the partition of Bengal, was foremost in creating the climate for *swadeshi.* As Vera Anstey has said:[48]— "The *swadeshi* movement, although originally inspired by other motives, stressed economic factors, stimulated Indian hand industries, and imbued consumers with a preference for Indian products." (*Resistance*).

Mahadev Govind Ranade, in his *Essays in Indian Economics* (1895) urged the study "Indian economics" in its

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



institutional aspects, so that deficiencies could be removed by suitable state intervention and legal action. In a way, therefore, he separated economics from politics (*Transmutation*).

Neither Naoroji nor Ranade conceived of economic advancement having anything to do with the nature of man in (Theo-Aristocratic) Indian civilization. Like West European Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic thinkers they took for granted that man was "Economic Man", in the sense understood in contemporary West Europe. They also wanted Government to follow the Japanese model. That is to say, start industries which required enormous foreign capital, and then hand them over to Indian capitalists.[49] Government was deaf to such pleadings, mainly because of its *laissez faire* policy (tinged with a degree of pro-British tariff protection). Barbara Ward is right when she says:[50]— "In the main, it could be said that the British authorities had not practised discrimination against Indian enterprise. They had simply failed to help everybody. They had practised *laissez faire*, and *laissez faire* meant the triumpth of the stronger British industry."

*Indian private sector neglects creating an Industrial Economy*

The fault lay with us Indians, for our weakness and for having a closed, rigid, conservative and superstitious Near-Theocratic Civilization, where innovation was practically impossible.

Unlike the descendants of the Vikings and of the *samurai*, Indian merchants had been subordinated to courts, noblemen, soldiers, administrators, priests; the artisans and craftsmen were still "lower" in the rung, being dependent on the merchants. Hence an independent Mercantile thrust, or a thrust along with the artisans ("Scientific-Democratic" Civilization) did not take place. The "fronts" of the Rational Mercantile foreigners were just go-betweens. Says Kissory Chand Mitra in his *"Memoirs of Dwarkanath Tagore"* that they were intermediaries and middlemen. "Their commercial speculation went no further than to supply funds to *Belate kootees*, obey their

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


behests as *moochhuddees,* and pocket their *dustooree*".[51] Thus, the external stimuli were not strong enough to effect a transition to the Rational-Mercantile, and still less to the Scientific-Democratic.

With railways and telegraphs the Marwaris, dealers in articles of every-day use like grain, cloth, ghee, oilseeds, salt, and also of jute, opium and gold, gained enormously, as did Punjabi Khatris and Chettiars. The Marwaris (including the Oswal, Agarwal and Maheshwari groups) had their activities spread throughout rich North India. Parsees, Gujaratis, Sindhis, and the Chettiars made enormous profits from overseas trade. But a Rational Mercantile civilization did not develop *suo moto.* The proportion of merchants in a largely land-based economy was too small. And this land-based Theo-Aristocracy had for long been wedded to a zero rate of growth, caste, conspicuous consumption, the joint family, and ideas of *Karma* and *Maya,* all of which inhibited economic growth to a higher stage.

The accretion of money as a result of the American Civil War had no effect on the Gujaratis, Theo-Aristocratic, or Theo-Mercantile Jains in the matter of a thrust towards a Scientific-Democratic economy. The heritage, from Aryo-Indian days of the *vish*, was one of ruthless exploitation of the aboriginees, which continued even when the Aryo-Indian *vish* became racially much more akin to the Adivasi than to the Aryan white man (Chapter 15 and 22). And the stimuli of the Scientific-Democratic Men were not strong enough to induce that Scientific Consciousness which leads to the urge for Heavy Industry, and for taking risks to achieve it, which are the foundations of industrial prosperity of the modern type.

The Parsees were an exception. The 'Theo' element among them had to be maintained to preserve a separate identity in a land surrounded by dark-skinned strangers. But otherwise the heritage was in favour of transition to the Rational-Mercantile and then to the Scientific-Democratic. The Parsees were well-known as artisans, carpenters and weavers, and indeed, they first came into prominence as master-carpenters in the shipyards of the British.[52] Hence the Parsee development to Industrial-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Democracy. An archetype Rational merchant-adventurer was Nusserwanji Tata. He made money in the China trade, and in the 1861-65 cotton boom. He overtraded, and went bankrupt. But his son, Jamshedji, got a commissariat contract in the Italo-Abyssinian War of 1867, made a lot of money, and financed cotton mills, the profits of which enabled him to experiment with the steel industry, and so lay its foundations in India.

The Gujaratis, Punjabi Khatris and Chettiars had no such Scientific Consciousness. They were Theo-Aristocrats or Theo-Mercantile men, and remained content with consumer exploitation. This shows the importance of the concept of the Values-and-Institutions Package. One cannot become a modern businessman, *suo moto,* without the Scientific Consciousness. There was no thrust in that direction. There is no evidence whatsoever that Indian merchants wanted to start heavy industry and were thwarted by the British. The idea never entered the heads of Indian merchants. All that they wanted was to trade in machine-made consumer goods, on a monopolistic basis, without competition from any one—an aim more or less achieved after 1947.

*Curzon hustles India and ushers in the era of the public sector*

Curzon, half an atavistic Theo-Aristocrat (which cost him the Prime Ministership in Britain), half Scientific-Democrat, was a hard-driving, dynamic man, a man full of the spirit of *mission civilisatrice,* a man imbued with immense zeal and devotion to duty, like Muraviev of Russia, who reached the Pacific coast for the Czar in the 1880's. On the rural side he forced the opening of an Agricultural Department, established co-operatives and treated land-revenue in a flexible manner, following suggestions made by the Indian Civilian, Romesh Chunder Dutt, although they were formally rejected. Land revenue was still considered a rent, and pitched high, in accordance with Utilitarian doctrine, to make peasants work hard. But in practice there were remissions, and so in effect it became a tax on agricultural income.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



On the industrial side Curzon instituted some State intervention as a result of the Ootacamund Industrial Conference of 1908, but the businessmen, backed by Lord Morley and Lord Crewe at Whitehall, full of the *laisser faire* spirit, stalled changes. Provincial Departments of Industries were created, but they did very little.

Curzon had, subconsciously perhaps, imbibed the examples of Bismarckian Germany and Meiji Japan, and believed that the new civilization could be induced to take root in India. By his institution of the Agriculture and of the Commerce and Industry Departments, and his encouragement of technical education he sowed the seeds of economic planning in India. During his time the railways became more and more a public sector undertaking. He tried to drag India out of its Theo-Aristocratic squalor into the Scientific-Democratic age, regardless of the numerous corns that he treaded on. And so, although he looks entirely different, he is the direct ancestor of the inducive economic planning of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Not much was done in the agricultural field. But the names of some English civilians, obviously eccentric altruists, like Frederick Nicholson (cooperative movement, late eighteen nineties), F. L. Brayne and M. L. Darling (extension work, nineteen thirties and forties) should not be allowed to be forgotten. The Imperial Agricultural Institute had been started, earlier, in 1903, largely due to the munificence of an American millionaire, Henry Phipps. The recommendations of the Maclagan Committee (1914-15) led to the formation of Apex Cooperative Banks in each province to augment the free flow of finance to rural areas. The Linlithgow Commission (1929) made useful suggestions and from 1935 onwards grants were made for "rural reconstruction" schemes. But the coverage was very small. Michael Edwardes, fiercely proud of British achievements in India, ruefully admits that[53]— "during British rule, no solution was found for the essential problem facing Indian agriculture." Nevertheless, the rural infra-structure, on which post-1947 developments were made, was created by the Scientific-Democrats *more or less*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*on their own,* and it must be said that in the nineteen seventies we are not much nearer solving the agricultural problem, vis-a-vis the size of the population, than we were in 1900. (*Imposition*).

*A certain measure of industrialisation forced by the two World Wars : the effects of an industrial climate*

In the industrial sphere still less was done because, as Barbara Ward has said (mentioned earlier), Government was wedded to the philosophy of *laisser faire.* The World War of 1914-18 showed up the economic and industrial weakness of India, and the rulers were forced, by circumstances, to set up an Industrial Commission under Sir Thomas Holland in 1916. The enthusiastic Holland Commission made many recommendations, but not much was done. However, a Central Department of Industries was created in 1921, industrial conferences held, journals published, and an Industrial Intelligence Section opened at Central Government level. The Central Government also established the Indian School of Mines at Dhanbad and the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun. A climate of opinion was created, which together with the vociferousness of the tiny but vocal Indian bourgeoisie led to the successive appointments of the Fiscal Commission (1922-23), a number of Currency Commissions, the Industrial Labour (Whitley) Commission (1931) and the creation of the Reserve Bank in 1935. Factory, mines and industrial labour legislation on British models were enacted. The Fiscal Commission (1921) broke with the tradition of *laisser faire,* and recommended discriminating protection. Tariff Boards on various industries led to various degrees of protection for the iron and steel, cotton textiles, sugar, cement, paper and paper pulp, matches, salt, sericulture etc. industries. But for such protection the Jamshedpur iron and steel works of Tatas, in the words of J. N. Bhagwati and Padma Desai[54]— "would almost certainly have suffered a jolt, and even bankruptcy."

The Industrial Disputes Act of 1929 and its various amendments, various improvements to the Factory Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 and various Maternity Benefit Acts were necessary concomitants in laying the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



foundations of an industrial state through the regulatory method.

During the First World War, because of the absence of competition, cotton textiles shot ahead. Jute and coal mining, like steel, fed the war-machine. Leather, soap etc. industries benefitted. Then came the period of protection, due to the industrial climate created, when many industries took root. During the Second World War these industries expanded, and new industries, mechanical, ferro-alloys, machine-tools, and chemicals, created. B. N. Datar and I. G. Patel have calculated that during the Second World War public outlay increased by over 400 per cent, or allowing for rising prices, by about 200 percent.[55]

The state was thus forced to induce industrialization, largely during the two World Wars. (*Imposition/Appropriation*).

*Rivalry between Indian and British consumer-exploiters*

Between 1936-37 and 1942-43 non-Indian companies increased their capital by 1 per cent compared with 17 per cent for Indian companies.[56] Banking followed the same pattern, and the share of foreign banks in the banking business fell from 70 per cent in 1914 to 17 per cent in 1947.[57] All this indicates the diminishing credibility of British authorities to hold India politically, even in the eyes of British industrialists.

Indian cartels and monopolies began to grow, specially in sugar and cotton-textiles. By 1939 there were monopolistic groups like those of Tata, Birla, Dalmia, Singhania, Walchand, Goenka, Modi, Poddar, Jaipuria, Shri Ram, Thapar etc., which grew enormously during the Second World War boom. The monopolies branched out and became diversified. Thus, the Birlas founded the United Commercial Bank at Calcutta, and became owners of the "Hindustan Times", the "Bombay Chronicle", and the "Eastern Economist". To give another illustration, the Dalmia-Jain group operated sugar, paper, chemicals, iron and steel, coal-mining, cement, civil aviation and insurance companies besides pure trading firms and real estate institutions. It also founded the Bharat Bank and acquired the "Times of India" from British interests. The princes became big share-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



holders in these enterprises. Thus the Gwalior house in Tatas; the Jaipur in Singhanias; and Baroda in the Bank of Baroda.

Taken all in all there was little industrialisation. As late as 1951, out of a total population of 357 million, only 2.3 million were in industry, or 2/3 per cent. According to the Planning Commission, the total number of industrial workers fell from 10.3 million in 1901 to 8.8 million in 1951 despite a population rise of about 40%. This points to a continuing decay in the handicrafts industry.

Even this meagre industrialization had to be achieved in the face of British *private sector* opposition.[58] By 1905 Rs 360 crores had been spent on railways, mainly to assist British industries, and only Rs 50 crores on irrigation. Edwardes admits that until 1923 the tariffs "operated for the most part against Indian industry."[59] During 1923-27 British and Indian textile industry openly clashed. Even during the Second World War British industry obstructed the growth of Indian productive capacity. On the other hand, there was some Indo-British collaboration to jointly exploit the Indian consumer. The Associated Cement Companies is a case in point. So far as the British *authorities* go, it has already been pointed out that Barbara Ward, a generous friend of India, is right when she says that they mainly practised *laisser faire,* and that this meant the triumph of the stronger British industry—until it saw the political hand-writing on the wall. (*Imposition/Appropriation*).

*Jawahar Lal Nehru implants economic planning in the Indian Consciousness*

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, inspired by the Soviet example, introduced the concept of national economic planning at the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress in 1931. He was supported by Subhas Bose, but opposed by K. M. Munshi, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Jamnalal Bajaj.[60] Independently, Sir M. Visvesvarayya, the great Mysore engineer, formulated in 1933 his 10-year plan to double the national income. Under Congress auspices 25 reports on various aspects of the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



economy were produced under the direction of Professor K. T. Shah, politically backed by Jawahar Lal Nehru. The now strong Indian capitalist class, led by Birla and Tata, produced their own plan, the "Bombay Plan" of 1944. M. N. Roy produced a "Peoples Plan", laying stress on agriculture and consumer goods. The Government was forced by the pressure of public opinion led by Jawahar Lal Nehru, to create a Planning and Development Department in 1944. Under a 1945 resolution it stated that it would develop essential industries like iron and steel, chemicals and dyes, transport, machine tools etc. if adequate private capital was not forthcoming. For regulating the growth of industries the licensing of industrial undertakings was proposed. Excess profits and concentration of capital were to be checked, quality control and fair wages to workers ensured, the requisite infrastructure for industry was to be created by Government, the protection policy was to be liberalised, an investment corporation was to be established. This 1945 resolution is, therefore, of fundamental importance, as it is a link between Curzon, the initiator of the public sector on the one hand, and Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Gandhi on the other. Strong internal forces, led by Jawahar Lal Nehru, thus compelled the foreign government to take a line of planned economy, which was developed, as was inevitable, by their brown-skinned successors. (*Appropriation*).

## L. Transformation of Society

*The Scientific-Democrats stop reforms*

It has been stated in Section 1 that after the 1857-59 upheaval the Scientific-Democrats ceased initiating social reforms. One of the planks of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 was that due regard was to be paid to "the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India" in framing and administering laws. This was status quoism par excellence, inhibiting social progress.

*The reformers of Maharashtra*

Reform ideas, originating in Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century and thereafter, found their way

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



to other places through branches of the Brahmo Samaj. They also appeared on their own as a response to the challenge of Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic ideas, as in the case of Gopal Hari Deshmukh and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar. Gopal Hari Deshmukh wrote in Marathi in his *Lokahitawadi* ("For the Good of the People") in the middle of the nineteenth century, attacking Brahmanic ideas, and preaching religious and social equality. One of the greatest rationalist thinkers of India was Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-95), an educationist who brought out the *Sudharak* ("Reformer") from Poona. He was an advocate of rationalism, and deplored blind dependence on tradition or false glorification of India's past. Of the social reformers of West India mention must be made of the great and manysided Parsee, Behramji Malabari. It was largely due to his efforts that the Age of Consent Act was passed in 1891.

Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) was influenced by Brahmoism, and his *Prarthana Samaj* ("Prayer Society") established in 1867, was modelled on the Brahmo Samaj, but he did not go so far as Ram Mohan Roy. The *Prarthana Samaj* was a reform movement *within* Hindu society, not *outside* it. He established a Foundling Asylum and Orphanage at Pandharpur, founded night schools, a Widow's Home, a Depressed Classes Mission etc. In 1884 he founded the idealistic Deccan Education Society, the members of which served for subsistence salaries, and devoted themselves to noble and good causes. The most prominent of these was Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). The Society founded many colleges and schools, which imparted the new ideas. Ranade believed that social reform by legislative action is possible and he founded the Social Conference in 1887, which held annual sessions. In 1895 he tried to hold it along with the annual Congress deliberations, at Poona, but met with strong opposition from the anti-Reformists. Subsequently, the liberal Sayaji Rao, Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda, joined the Social Conference, and was a great pillar of support to Ranade. If one can speak of a "Bengal Renaissance", so can one of a "Maharashtrian Renaissance", both part of our slow Cultural Revolution.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Mahatma Jyotiba Phule was born in 1827, a *mali* (a *Kumbi* sub-caste). He wrote *Gulamgiri* ("slavery") in 1873, where he pictured Indian history as a struggle between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans. He denigrated the Peshwas, but found, the clever Brahmans to have monopolised important posts under the British also, and so to continue in their oppression of non-Brahmans. He founded the *Satya Shodak Samaj* (Association for the Propagation of Truth) to counter the Brahmans. Some Brahmans got frightened at this, and opposition to even the reform movement of Deshmukh, Agarkar and Ranade, not to say the ideas of Jyotiba Phule, came from such stalwarts as Vishnu Shastri Krishna Chiplunkar (1850-82) and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1854-1920). Chiplunkar attacked Hindu orthodoxy fiercely, but he did not subscribe to the liberal ideas of men like Ranade, and he was opposed to radical changes in the values and institutions of Hindu Society.[61] (*Assimilation/Resistance*)

*Why was there no reform movement in Madras ?*

The going was tougher still for reformers in Madras.

Bengal had been Mahayana Buddhist and was relatively lax and unorthodox in its Hinduism. It had also been covered with *Bhakti* religion, part Reassertion and part Assimilation of Sufi ideas in the air, to counter Islam all the better, as we have seen in Chapter 17. Also, the Rational-Mercantilists and the Scientific-Democrats from abroad were more concentrated here than elsewhere, as Calcutta was their capital for about 150 years, as rulers, soldiers and businessmen. This was good ground for the new ferment.

In Maharashtra, in Bombay City, there was a concentration of Rational-Mercantilists and Scientific-Democrats from abroad, although less than in Calcutta. This region had also been replete with *Bhakti* (as we have seen in Chapter 17), weakening the hold of orthodox Pauranic Hinduism. Hence reform movements could have a hold here.

In Madras City also there was a concentration of Rational-Mercantilists and Scientific-Democrats from

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



abroad, but orthodox Pauranic Hinduism was stronger here than in Calcutta or Bombay. The South had, indeed, been the birthplace of *Bhakti,* as we have seen in Chapter 15, but it had petered out, along with regression to the Theo-Aristocratic, from the nascent Theo-Mercantile which seemed about to appear in the 11th-12th centuries. Thereafter it did not have to meet the Islamic cultural and ideological challenge as had Bengal and Maharashtra. Hence, Pauranic Hinduism was much stronger in Madras than in Calcutta or Bombay. Hence, reform ideas could not gather strength here. It was restricted by the dynamics of the configuration. (*Resistance*)

*The catalytic effect of the new urban classes*

During this period urbanization increased. The percentage arose from 9.42 in 1919 to 10.2 in 1921, nearly 11 in 1931 and over 11.7 in 1941.[62] Urbanization implied some breaking away from the rural joint-family. This inevitably meant some weakening of the ideas of the Old Closed Society, and some ferment, howsoever weak it was, seeing the smallness of the numbers involved. The rural countryside was also not totally unaffected by the ferment, for the urban labourers had close links with their villages.

During the years of world economic depression, 1927-33, there was unemployment in industries and stagnation, side by side with the growth of Indian cartels and monopolies, thus bringing in new tensions in Indian urban life. With the 1939-45 years came foreign soldiers, industrial expansion, famine, starvation deaths, and therefore, ferment.

The engineers, technicians, professional men, clerks, commercial classes and entrepreneurs constituted a thin, modernising urban column. And the more the technicalization, the more the drift from the Old Closed Society, and more the ferment. The comparatively technicalised cities were centres of scientific-democratic civilization, however weak it was. India is not only in the countryside, but also in the towns, and it is the town which is the progressive element in the total make-up. In the villages the educated were too dispersed, and being of the elite, were too far removed from ordinary people, to have had much effect on them. It was the town, and the portion of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the countryside which was activated by the town, which lent a ear to the reassertion, to the nationalism, and to various solutions to problems advocated by leaders like Vivekananda, Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ranade, Tagore, Aurobindo, Gandhi, Nehru, Iqbal, and their followers. Derozio and Young Bengal did not have such a partially *declasse*, semi-technicalized force to appeal to, which although ridiculously small by world standards, was still large enough in absolute numbers, nearly 6 million or so, about 2 per cent of the total population, in the nineteen thirties (the English-educated people of the cities—those in the villages being too few, too dispersed, and too far removed from ordinary villagers to have much effect).

*Feebleness of social changes: the prior Change in Consciousness necessary was lacking*

The change effected by the social reformers has been very marginal. Caste, contempt for women generally, and for widows specially, and for Harijans, pollution ideas, ill-treatment of women and of the weaker classes, the arrogance of the elite on grounds of birth etc. are still very much with us. Why is this so? To answer this question we must ask ourselves—what makes for social change? We can get a clue, logically, by finding out what motivated our social reformers.

In all cases it was a Change in Consciousness, induced by exposure to Rational-Mercantilist and Scientific-Democratic ideologies. This is illustrated below, taking a few prominent social reformers.

—Ram Mohan Roy was so imbued with such Radical ideas that his friend, Kissory Chand Mitter, called him a "Religious Benthamite." (Ch. 25).

—The Derozeans were inspired by the Radical ideas of the West European "Enlightenment". Their god was Tom Paine, and their Bible, Tom Paine's "Common Sense". (Ch. 25).

—Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar hated the Sankhya and Vedanta, as well as Vedanta-type foreign philosophies, like that of Bishop Berkeley, called them "false", and extolled the ideas of James Stuart Mill. (Ch. 25).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



—Mahadev Govind Ranade was deeply influenced by Adam Smith, Bentham, Mill and Herbert Spencer. He referred to Herbert Spencer as 'the greatest living philosopher of the age'.[63]

We see, therefore, that what made these social reformers eager for change was Change in their Consciousness; this gave them no peace and impelled them forward.

If the Consciousness is not changed, social legislation has only limited effect. It is effective in a negative way, like *preventing suttee, thugee* etc. But for positive results, equality instead of inequality, for instance, a Change of Consciousness is obviously necessary.

The Scientific-Democratic rulers made matters worse by refusing to initiate social changes in the way that Bentinck and Macaulay did. This was a sop to the Near-Theocrats, after the 1857-59 upheavals, to keep quiet and to accept British rule.

So, it follows, that to change Society it is necessary to have both a Change in Consciousness and active State intervention and involvement at all stages. The latter was absent after the 1857-59 upheavals, specially after Dufferin burnt his fingers over the issue of child-marriages. But there was continuous Indian effort to change the Consciousness, to which we now turn.

## M. Attempts to Change the Indian Consciousness and to Modernise it

### *General*

During this period Keshab Sen was the only Assimilationist and Saiyid Ahamad Khan and his followers, Appropriators, like Ram Mohan Roy. Others tried to evolve something new and were, thus, Transmutationists.

### *Assimilation—Keshab Sen*

Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-84), a Brahmo *acharya* (religious preacher) broke away from the Samaj in 1865, when only 27, as he performed an inter-caste marriage, repugnant to old Brahmos of the Debendra Nath Tagore school. He preached the Gospel of Universality, borrowing from Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Parsee and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Confucian scriptures. He started a Hindi newspaper, *Sulav Samachar* ("Inexpensive News") and in his emotion-surcharged speeches preached five points—women's education, general education, cheap literature, temperance, and organisation of charity. But in 1878 he allowed his 13 year old daughter to be married to the idolatrous Hindu prince of Cooch Behar, saying that it was the will of God. He was expelled from the Brahmo Samaj and in 1879 founded its *Nava Vidhan* ("New Dispensation") sect, the majority being known as the *Sadharan* ("General") *Samaj* and the conservative, aristocratic, near-Hindu one as *Adi* ("Original") Brahmo Samaj. He introduced Christian features—apostles, missionaries, doctrines of sin, of salvation, of the divinity of Jesus Christ. Later on he introduced a Chaitanya-type of devotional, ecstatic singing.

A stormy petrel in his time, his influence died down after death, but he contributed to the growth of a liberal intellectual and ideological climate.

*Appropriation—Saiyid Ahmad Khan and his followers: Nechariya firqa* ("Nature of things").

Saiyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98) performed many services, of a lasting nature, to the Muslim-Indian community. He—

(i) assured the British of Muslim loyalty and was largely successful in his efforts; (ii) rallied the Muslims out of despondency by his activism and advocacy of political cooperation with the British, intellectual Westernization, and modernization in living and in social life; (iii) by his interpretation of the Koran, has *nechariya firqa* ("nature of things") theory, enabled Muslim-Indians to take recourse to the Life of Reason; (iv) defined the position of Muslims in India with regard to British rule—that of loyalty and of co-operation; (v) created institutions like the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, and drew to himself a band of highly intellectual men to continue his work.

He derived his Rational-Mercantilist and Scientific-Democratic inspiration from his maternal grandfather, the scholar-administrator, Dabir-ud-daula Khwaja Farid-ud-din,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



who brought him up, and who served both the Mughal Delhi Durbar and the East India Company at Calcutta. Sir Saiyid became a civil servant of the East India Company (like Raja Ram Mohan Roy), and later of the British crown in India. In 1849 he criticised the abuses of the Piri and Muridi systems, whereby blind obedience was paid to spiritual leaders, who were not always genuine. He started a Scientific Society at Ghazipur in 1864 and had useful English books translated into Urdu—books by Mill, Elphinstone, Malcolm etc.—on history, and on chemistry, zoology etc[64]. He was an independent thinker, and showed his mastery over "Western" critical methods in his historical writings, his *Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyya* (Essays on the Life of Muhammad) (1870) and his Koranic exegesis. He started a periodical in 1870, *Tazhib-ul-Akhlaq* ("Improvement of Manners/Morals") where his liberal views were aired, raising a storm of controversy.

He worked on Koranic exegesis between 1880 and 1895. He examined the four main sources of Islamic knowledge—*hadith* (tradition), *ijma* (consensus of the ulema), *wahy* (revelation) and *ijtihad* (judicial interpretation). *Hadis,* according to him, had been interspersed with *tahrif* (corruption and interpolation); *ijma,* he held, should not be restricted to the *ulema* alone; *wahy,* he taught, is identical with "natural law". In lower forms of life it operates as instinct, in human society as reason. *Ijtihad,* or judicial interpretation, is, therefore, the inalienable right of every individual Muslim. The Word of God should be interpreted by the work of God, which lies open for all to see. Because of his stress on the "nature of things" his philosophy was nicknamed contemptuously by the orthodox as *nechariya firqa* ("nature school"). Using reason, and the concept of *nechariya firqa,* he pleaded strongly for women's education, and against the seclusion of women (*purdah*), polygamy and easy divorce, and against superstitions and irrationalities of all kinds.

Among his followers were the poet Hali, the author of the famous *musaddas* (elegies); the scholar-novelist Nazir Ahmad ; Zakullah ; Chiragh Ali ; and Muhsin-ul-Mulk. He and Chiragh Ali were intellectually like David and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Jonathan, but Chiragh Ali was more Radical. He laid particular stress on *diraya* (rational criticism) against *hiyal* (pious frauds). Mahdi Ali Khan, or Muhsin-ul-Mulk (his title) was more cautious. He was against *taqlid* (tradition), but held that as our knowledge of natural laws is imperfect, there *could* be a possibility of miracles, angels, Satan, etc.

Saiyid Ahmad had many opponents, even apart from the contemptuous orthodox Muslims. His Western style of living led even Nazir Ahmad, his protege, to mock him in his novel, *Ibn-al-Waqt* ("The Time Server"). And it inspired some of the facetious verses of Akbar Allahabadi. Shibli Nomani, a one-time follower, became conservative with age, and joined the *Nadvat-ul-ulema,* the objective of which was to work out a synthesis between old and new viewpoints. The *Nadva* group became a rival to Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan's Aligarh group, and along with Akbar Allhabadi and the conservative *Deoband* ulema, resisted inroads of Western thought and practice.

Independently, a Modernist Movement had started earlier, in Calcutta in 1863, when Nawab Abdul Latif established there the Muhammadan Literary Society to discuss moral, intellectual and social problems affecting Muslims. Saiyid Ameer Ali (1849-1928), coming of a poor family of Chinsurah in West Bengal, was its brightest star. A barrister, he ultimately became a judge of the Calcutta High Court. His "Short History of the Saracens" (1889) and the "Spirit of Islam" (1922), created great impact. He portrays Islam as dynamic, full of intellectualism and effort —as it was in its Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile days. In his "Anglo-Muhammadan Law" he attempted to reinterpret Islamic laws and institutions to bring them in line with "Western" legal concepts.

Saiyid Ahmad Khan and Saiyid Ameer Ali were fellow-strivers with the Iranian Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1896) and the Egyptian Shaikh Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), to build a bridge between the Koran and "Modern" Values and Institutions by Koranic exegesis. Their attempts have not succeeded, showing that Values and Institutions of each Stage of Civilization constitute a package and can-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



not be mixed with those of others, although the fruits of science and technology can (but there is no independent growth of this except in a Rational-Mercantile or Scientific-Democratic milieu). Hence, as the Muslim-Indians remained mainly Theo-Aristocratic the effect of the liberal *ijtihad* (reinterpretation) schools was marginal, as in the case of the Brahmo Samaj vis-a-vis the Hindus.

*Transmutationists*

(i) & (ii) *Ramakrishna-Vivekananda: Service of Man or Creative Altruism/Civilizationology*

Gadadhar Chattopadhyaya, later known as Ramakrishna (1834-86), spent his life as the chief priest of a Kali temple at Dakshineshwar, near Calcutta, belonging to Rani Rashmoni, a rich lady belonging to one of the so-called "lower" castes. Ramakrishna was no scholar, but an extra-ordinary God-intoxicated man. He had two great teachers in his life—the Tantric woman-saint, Bhairavi Brahmani, and then the North Indian ascetic, Tota Puri. Bhairavi Brahmani taught him *yoga* and meditation. She and Rani Rashmoni protected him in this early period of his life from charges of insanity levelled against him for his fits of ecstasy and numerous trances, when he would shed tears, there would be tremors all over his body, his hair would stand on end, he would perspire, and sometimes take off all his clothes. Tota Puri taught him the unqualified monism of Shankara, the Vedanta. Ramakrishna followed not only Tantric and Vaishnava modes of religious meditation, but also underwent Christian and Muslim religious disciplines, living like a Christian and a Muslim. He was, therefore, a practising civilizationologist in the religious field. Thus, after following various religious practices, he came to the firm belief—*yata mat tata path*—"as many roads as opinions", to God-realization. He favoured the concept of *Ishta Devata* or Chosen Deity for each person. He himself loved most the concept of the Motherhood of the Divinity and was intoxicated by Kali-worship. He defended idolatry, saying: "God is with form and without form..." implying that there are many levels of religious perception. He, therefore, thought that everyone should choose

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



his or her own mode of worship and not be bound by any particular set of rituals.

Ramakrishna was a great originator of parables, and these, as well as his pithy sayings and aphorisms gathered for him a devoted band of followers, of whom the most famous is Narendra Nath Dutta (1863-1902), later known as Swami Vivekananda. Indeed, the names of the two are always interlinked, as both wanted it to be. Ramakrishna also taught that an individual, however great, is too small to shower on a fellow human being any spiritual largesse, which is the prerogative of the Divine. All that a man can and should do is to try to serve a fellow man in a spirit of humility, for in serving him he serves God, who is immanent in all living things, particularly in human beings. Thus, the thrust of Ramakrishna's teaching is Vedantic equality of human beings, disregard of rituals, and service of man as the highest form of worship. It were these teachings which impressed Narendra Nath the most.

Narendra Nath, the son of a rich Calcutta lawyer, and a graduate, was full of Herbert Spencer and of Charles Darwin when he met Ramakrishna. He was converted to his teachings, became a wandering monk (*parivrajak*), and went to Chicago in 1893 to attend the first Parliament of Religions, which he took by storm. He toured the United States, Britain and the Continent, preaching Vedantic Hinduism. Back home in 1896, and helped largely by the munificence of wealthy American ladies like Mrs Ole Bull, he founded the Ramakrishna Mission near Dakshineswar, at Belur. The object was not selfish salvation-seeking, but social service to help the sufferings of fellow-men, the organisation of hospitals, dispensaries, schools, orphanages, libraries etc. as a means of discipline for the spiritual and religious life, and not for philanthropy alone. Everywhere, in India and abroad, the "cyclonic Hindu" made whirlwind tours, preaching, organising, opening branches of the Ramakrishna Mission. He taught:—

(i) the superiority of the Vedanta doctrine to all others, Hindu, as well as non-Hindu;[65] (ii) the divinity of man and man worship;[66] (iii) pride in India; (iv) the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



need to rouse India's sleeping millions; (v) material uplift through "Western" materialism;[67] (vi) recompense to the "West"[68] through "Eastern" spiritualism; (vii) the uselessness of mysticism and rituals; (viii) irrelevance of caste for spiritual life; (ix) the life of Reason and liberty of thought; and (x) fearlessness.

In his concept and practice of "mass contact" he was the precursor of Mahatma Gandhi, a fact acknowledged by the Mahatma himself.[69] So far leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Saiyid Ahmad Khan had spoken only to the elite.

Vivekananda popularised the doctrine that the "Orient" is superior to the "Occident" in spirituality. He visualised a bipolar world where science and technology would be developed in the "West" and spiritual values cultivated in the "East", and each would borrow from the other where it is deficient.[70] This thesis of "Spiritual East" and "Material West" is no longer tenable, as will be seen in Chapter 32.

Vivekananda was not against idolatry, for like his master, Ramakrishna, he held that there are different levels of religious appreciation. Personally he seemed to have been a Vedantist for whom the Deity was Pure Radiance and Light.

Caste to him was irrelevant for higher striving, but it was "a natural order",[71] although apparently not hereditary.[72] He exulted in the thought of a day when labourers would rule.[73]

His gospel of social service and social work has many origins: the Vedantic and man-worship teachings of his master, Ramakrishna (equivalent to the "Creative Altruism" of the Harvard sociologist, Pitrim Sorokin, a term coined much later); the example of the similar work of Christian missions in India; the inspiration of the social service work of the hard-working American women of his acquaintance, American women who helped him so much during his stay in their country. The gospel of social service and social work has not caught on to the extent it should have, but the last word in the matter can hardly

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



have been said yet. An organisation exists, which is capable of great growth.

Vivekananda was no system-builder. So far his thought and ideas have not succeeded in supplanting Pauranic Hinduism and indeed, the effect has been more or less marginal and vaguely supplemental. But his brand of Vedantic Hinduism, which rejects much of Shankara, including the theory of the world as *Maya* or Illusion, has great potentialities for growth, a topic which will be discussed in Chapter 39. Certain foreign observers, like Professor Ninian Smart, even think that it has a bright, world-wide future.[74]

Swami Vivekananda was also an early civilizationologist. He compares civilizations in his Bengali book, *Prachya O Paschatya,* the English version of which bears the literal translation—*The East and the West.* The main points in this book are that there are many Values and Institutions of Life; that there are rational grounds for their existence; that they can change, again for reasons which can be explained; that each set of Values and Institutions are inter-connected; and that appropriation of any of them by an external group has to be done thinkingly. He also proclaims the doctrine of the Spiritual East and the Materialist West, which really was an expression of the difference between Theo-Aristocracy and Scientific-Democracy, in his time a wholly geographic distinction.

The following sample quotation[75] illustrates the germinal nature of his thoughts and observations, with which *The East and the West* is replete:—

"The whole of Asian civilisation was first evolved on the plains near large rivers and on fertile soils—on the banks of the Ganga, the Yangtse-Kiang, and the Euphrates. The original foundation of all these civilizations is agriculture, and in all of them the Daivi nature predominates".

(Daivi nature means theocratic, divine, religious).

Since Vivekananda wrote the above lines, archaeology and radio-carbon dating have proved him factually wrong. The earliest civilizations, in his sense, were those of the Tigris-Euphrates, the Nile, the Indus, and the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Hwang-ho. But there is in his intuition the perception of river-valley civilizations, and of their Theo-Technocratic nature.

Two general conclusions are implicit in *The East and the West*:—

(i) a sense of world-brotherhood is possible out of a wisdom which only civilizationology (Vivekananda does not use this term) can give; (ii) and since world-brotherhood is not only desirable, but is also essential, so is civilizationology.

Agreeably with such views the Ramakrishna Mission institutes everywhere sponsor lectures, seminars and discussions on comparative civilization or civilizationology. And there is a special institution also for this, the Calcutta Ramakrishna Institute of Culture.

The effect of civilizationology or comparative civilization in India, however, has been very small, practically negligible, largely because of a strident and assertive Romantic Anti-Colonial History-Consciousness, a topic which will be discussed in several places later.

(iii) & (iv) *Bankim Chandra Chatterjee/Bhudev Mukherjee—Anushilan* ("Following through")*/Synthesis of The East and the West.*

The noted Bengali writer and essayist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94), appropriated Auguste Comte's Positivism and the concept of social evolution of Herbert Spencer to produce a philosophy of his own. If man cultivates all his faculties, intellectual and moral, God will come to him, or he will become God, as did, according to him, Krishna. In this Bankim was influenced by Ernest Renan, whose Man-Jesus became God, in his book *Ecce Homo*. Bankim laid emphasis on *anushilan* ("following through"), mental illumination, as the foundation of religion. But *anushilan* means both knowledge of the external world as well as spiritual illumination. The Hindus neglected the former, and it is this which they have to borrow from the West to give their spiritual culture the right orientation.[76] Hence, a synthesis is necessary. Following Spencer, Bankim conceived of four stages of life—*jarh jagat* (world of matter), *jeev jagat* (animal world),

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*manas jagat* (world of intelligent beings) and *Samaj jagat* (world of society), in that order of ascension.[77]

These ideas of Bankim did influence the Bengali intelligentsia of his time, but it was temporary.

Bhudev Mukherjee (1825-94), Bengali educationist and journalist, was one of the first to create, through his essays, the cult of the "Synthesis between the East and West".

(v) *Mahadev Govind Ranade* (1842-1907).

Ranade equated the teachings of the *Bhakta* saints of Maharashtra with the Protestant Reformation in West Europe.[78] The spread of Protestantism in Europe, according to him, had prepared the ground for progress by creating a social and intellectual climate which undermined the Values and Institutions of Medieval Society. Ranade believed that the *bhakti* saints of Maharashtra had done the same thing. Ranade was a Vedantist in the sense that he believed in one God, though he rejected much of Shankara. He saw this one God in the compassionate God of the *bhakti* saints, to whom Eknath, Namdev and Tukaram had addressed their *abhangas*. He endeavoured to reform Hinduism according to such views through his *Prarthana Samaj*. But, as in the case of the Brahmo Samaj, its influence was peripheral, apparently even much less than that of the Brahmo Samaj. A firmly entrenched doctrine obviously has to be countered by all the persuasive and coercive powers of the State to have it substituted by something else.

(vi) *Vedic and Koranic exigeses—Swami Dayananda Saraswati*/& (vii) *Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian/ The validity of such exigeses.*

Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-83), an Audichya Brahman from Gujarat, a vigorous man preaching in Hindi, gave another version of Hinduism, based on Vedic exegesis. He relied on the Vedas and rejected everything not found in it. He saw modern science in the Vedas as interpreted by him. He taught:—

(i) Idol worship should be discarded; (ii) There is no caste—a man becomes a Brahman, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya or a Shudra by deeds, not by birth; (iii) Women should have equal rights with men; (iv) Child marriages should

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



end; (v) The *Puranas* are not on the same footing as the Vedas; (vi) Parents should be treated with love, respect and devotion. The funeral rites, or *Shraddha* of a dead person, however, are foolish and meaningless; (vii) Hindus should be called Aryas, and every Arya should be invested with the sacred thread.

He accepted the theory of transmigration of souls, but not that of ultimate union with God. God is transcendental, separate from man and above him. Obviously, there was much Judaeo-Christian influence on Dayananda, although this may have been unconscious or sub-conscious.

In 1875 he set up the "Arya Samaj" (Society of the Aryas, i.e. Noble Men) in Bombay, and in the same year his *Satyartha Prakash* (Exposition of the Meaning of Truth) came out. The Arya Samaj, Christian-like, held Sunday congregational meetings. He and his followers, mainly in the Punjab and Western Uttar Pradesh, defended their brand of Hinduism stoutly with a stick-and-cudgel approach. The Arya Samaj played a great role in education, setting up a chain of excellent "Dayanand Anglo-Vedic" (D. A. V.) schools and colleges. Later on, in 1902, Swami Shraddhanand set up the "Gurukul" near Hardwar to propagate a more traditional type of education without, however, eschewing Western science. Like Vivekananda, Dayananda was not interested in the contemporary politics of petitions and memorials.

Islam, a Theo-Mercantile religion, has a clear-cut book—the Koran. And hence, transmutation of it, if it is at all possible, can only be by exegesis. The doctrine of *la bidah fils Islam* ('No innovation in Islam') makes change difficult. Still, there were attempts to effect changes in Islam in the nineteenth century. Jamal-al-din-al-Afghani appropriated "Western" liberal ideas, but stuck to Islam. Baha-ullah founded a new world sect, a partly Christianised Islam, Bahaism, as Vivekananda had founded a partly Christianised Hinduism, Vedantic Hinduism. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908) of Qadian was inspired in the same way as Jamal-al-din al-Afghani and Baha-ullah (as was Saiyid Ahmad Khan), but his doctrines failed

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



to take wings. He came from a small land-owning family in the Punjab, and was a religious recluse who became a prophet. He began to accept *baiat* (mystic fealty) from the age of fifty. In 1891 he claimed to be the Masih-i-Maund (the promised Messiah). He claimed to be a *buruz,* or manifestation of Krishna. He gained many adherents in the Punjab, centring round Qadian—and his Qadiani or Ahmadiyya movement established many schools, did social work, and vigorous missionary propaganda far and wide.

The vigorous and prosperous Qadiani community, with strong in-group feelings, split into an orthodox group at Qadian, and a more forward-looking group at Lahore, which played a notable part in the dissemination of liberal Islamic ideas. But transmutation of Islam as such, of the Bahai type, never took place in either of the two branches of the Ahmadiyya movement.

The method of exegesis of Theo-Aristocratic or Theocratic texts to come to terms with Rational-Mercantile or Scientific-Democratic Values and Institutions is a highly subjective one. Saiyid Ahmad Khan got into trouble with the orthodox *mullahs* for his *nechariya firqa.* Ghulam Ahmad Parwiz (b. 1903) of Pakistan produced an exegesis of the Koran by differentiating between *din,* fundamental religion, and *mazhab,* juristic religion. He adopted Abul Kalam Azad's concept of God as the provider—*Rabb*—and of the universe as nourished by a system of divine providence, *Nizam-i-rububiyyat.* To Parwiz *rububiyyat* means the development of the latent faculties of a creature of God, not only moral, but also material and economic. And so, step by step, he came to a system of Theistic Socialism, which he thought of as a Koranic Welfare State. But this was so different from the concepts of the *ulema* that he was denounced by them as an apostate.

Exegesis can help to a certain extent in "modernization", by a very selective approach, as in the case of the Arya Samaj and the Ahmadiyyas. But it is useless for chalking out new paths for the Future. Only *after* something has taken place in the Scientific-Democratic world, which is thought of as being worthy of borrowing, can one

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



point out with pride: "It was in the Vedas", "It was in the Koran", "It was in the Bible".

(viii) *Mrs Annie Besant* (1847-1933) *and Theosophy.*

Mrs Annie Besant, a theosophist, came out to India in 1889 and worked from Adyar, where the founder of Theosophy, Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, had transferred the headquarters from New York in 1879. Mrs Besant became the President of the Society in 1907. She was an Indian nationalist, the originator of the concept of "Home Rule", and the *de facto* founder of the Benares Hindu University. She was a formidable Victorian Englishwoman, and was respectfully called *Bari Mem Sahib* ("Great White Lady").[79]

Theosophy believes that man is spiritual in his innermost nature, and that the knowledge of the divine can be obtained by intuition, often suddenly, breaking the barrier between the Sensory and the Extra-Sensory worlds. Madame Blavatsky is supposed to have been initiated into the requisite tradition by *mahatmas* ("Great Souls"), stationed in Tibet. On this she constructed an elaborate philosophy, postulating development through seven stages for transformation of beings, from the material to the spiritual, through several lives, by the process of *Karma* and the transmigration of souls. She also took mystic beliefs from many cultures and syncretised them. The philosophy of the theosophists is difficult, but the objectives are Scientific-Democratic-brotherhood of man, no barriers of caste, colour, creed, race or sex, the "harmonisation of the Laws of Nature with the psychical powers of man". Mrs Besant injected Hindu ideas into Theosophy, and she extolled and idealised the Indian past. A powerful writer and speaker, she had a wide audience. All this, and her involvement in education and politics made her, and Theosophy, supremely acceptable to many Hindus. She made Theosophy into a kind of "modernised" and Christianised Hinduism and in doing this she boosted Hindu self-confidence, then at a low ebb.

Theosophy has not, however, caught on in India, as Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan says.[80] Besides, it is a strange mixture of Theocratic and Scientific-Democratic

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ideas, not an integral whole. The esotericism about the Tibetan *mahatmas* is against science. All this again shows that the Values and Institutions of each stage of civilization constitute a packet, and taking one set of values from one, and another set, or other sets, from other stages, and then mixing them all up together produces amalgams which do not find wide acceptance.

(ix) *Aurobindo.*

Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950), scholar, journalist, terrorist, and philosopher, evolved his philosophy of life at French-held Pondicherry, whence he fled in 1910 to escape the British, and established an *ashram* (retreat) there. His wife died in 1920, and in the same year Madame Paul Richard, a French-woman, came to his *ashram.* She organised it, became his *alter ego,* and succeeded him as "The Mother".

Aurobindo, a highly erudite and poetic man, wrote many books, but his philosophy, a complicated one, can be gleaned in its essentials from his three volumes of "Life Divine", "Synthesis of Yoga", and the enormous philosophic poem, "Savitri". Aurobindo believes that originally there was *only* Energy or Absolute Transcendental, which is *Sat—Chit—Ananda*—Existence, Consciousness, Bliss. Energy works through an intermediary Force or *Shakti,* Supermind, which is the link between It and the Human Consciousness. Aurobindo, a Bengali *Shakta* (worshipper of the Supreme Being as the Mother Goddess) conceived of several other intermediary forces or *Shaktis* in terms of goddesses, with various functions—Kali the destroyer, Lakshmi for harmony and prosperity, Saraswati for knowledge and excellence etc.

Energy or the Absolute Transcendental, out of sport and joy (*leela*), works through Its *Chit Shakti* (Power or Force of Consciousness) and limits Itself in descending stages. This is *involution,* and thus creation begins, with pure matter at its lowest level. But there is a limit to descension or involution, since Consciousness cannot eliminate itself. So, then ascension or *evolution* starts, from matter, to life, to Consciousness, and through the help of the *Shaktis,* back to the Absolute Transcendental Itself.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Life can be "divinized" through "integral yoga", and the help of the various *shaktis* of the Extra-Sensory World and Supermind can be brought down to earth, when there will be a New Man, a new race of supermen. Aurobindo's integral yoga or *poorna yoga* is a combination of *jnana* (intellectual), *bhakti* (devotional) and *karma* (action) techniques. Aurobindo did not believe that the phenomenal world is *Maya* or illusion. He taught simplicity and restraint, but was against asceticism and outward show, like the wearing of the saffron robe. There are four factors in his *yaga-shastra* or the teachings of yoga; *utsaha*—the flame of aspiration; *guru*—the teacher; and *kala*—maturity of time. Aurobindo's followers hoped that through his integral yoga he himself would bring down Supermind to "divinize" life, and start a New Race of Supermen, and a New Heaven, on Earth itself.

Aurobindo got his ideas from different sources, but he modified some of them—From the Upanishads, the idea of divinity ("Consciousness") in every being.

—From the *Sankhya,* the idea of a passive Absolute Transcendental (analogous to *Purusha*), and an active *Shakti* or Supermind, conceived of as feminine (analogous to *Prakriti*).

—From the *Gita,* stress on *yoga* as the means to higher divine goals.

—From Pauranic Hinduism, the concept of *leela* or joyous sport of the Divine.

—From Judaism, the concept of the Absolute Transcendental (*Yahweh*).

—From Bergson, the idea of involution.

—From Darwin, that of evolution.

—From Nietzsche, the idea of Superman and a Super-Race.

His difficult teachings have had restricted appeal, to elite circles, which are, however, influential. His efforts to bring Supermind down from above to found a New Heaven and a New Earth have shown no visible results. His philosophy is incomplete, as is Theosophy, because of the lack of attention to the socio-economic and scientific sides of life. Evolution, as understood by Darwin, may have a meaning. But according to Aurobindo's theories,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



involution and evolution, through the agency of Supermind, is just for the *leela* or joyous sport of the Absolute Transcendental. In other words, Aurobindo tries to give a reasonable explanation for something which is *ab initio* held to be beyond reason. There is, therefore, a basic contradiction right at the start. For the rest, to the Scientific Consciousness, what he says about the various *shaktis,* Kali, Lakshmi, Saraswati etc. is mythology, poetic mythology, spun through thousands and thousands of words. And if one is to have mythology, then why not the old and time-worn Pauranic Hinduism?

(x) *Rabindra Nath Tagore* (1861-1941). Rabindra Nath Tagore believed that life was an eternal flux, a ceaseless flow. The flight of ducks in his poem *Balaka* ("Swan"), symbolises life, and is like the surge of the *elan vital.* Says Narayani Basu[81]:— "Like Bergson again, Tagore sees that spirit is struggling unceasingly to break the shell of matter and bursts out in a sweep of creative force." He is, therefore, a dynamist. The similarity of his philosophy with that of Bergson, however, must be purely coincidental.

He is essentially a humanist, and therefore believes that life is for enjoyment—

> Deliverance is not for me in renunciation,
> I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.
>
> (Gitanjali, No. 73, London, 1919).

As a humanist and a Brahmo he is for human equality, as the passage below from *Ebar Phirao More* (Now Return Me, i.e. to the masses), written in 1893, shows:—

> To these ignorant dumb mouths
> You have to give language,
> You have to kindle hopes in these tired,
> dry, broken hearts,
> You have to say—
> For a moment lift up your heads, and
> stand united,
> The wrong-doer of whom you are afraid
> Is more afraid of you,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



When you will awake, he will at once
run away.

These moods were interludes. He was wrapped up mainly in the aesthetic, poetic and mystic life after the age of forty (he was a successful manager of family estates, however, all the time). But he could not be insensitive, as Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru says,[82] humanist as he was, to the sufferings of the Indian people. Again and again he stepped out of his ivory tower of poetry and song, when he could tolerate some development no longer, and in prophetic language warned the British Government or his own people. And he worked hard for education, and small industries, in his Shanti Niketan and Sri-Niketan.

As a humanist he was against collectivism, although he admired Russia very much, after a visit to that country. He is for private property, but also for the regulation of its use for the benefit of society at large.[83] His solution for the conflicts between individual and society lay in co-operative effort.[84]

He was a nationalist in thought and action and has the singular distinction of being the author of the national songs of two countries—of India (*Jana gana mana*) ; and of Bangladesh (*Amar sonar Bangla*). But he was strongly against Ultra-Nationalism, as his book "Nationalism" shows. Said he to the Americans: "Nationalism is a false god; offer no sacrifice to it". Even in a nation-state, he held, exploitation does not stop. It is full of "endless bull-fights of politics". Nationalism also leads, he believed, to centralization of power, and to the oppression of the spirit. In his novels, *Gora, Ghare Baire* (The Home and Abroad) and *Char Adhyay* (Four Chapters) he places humanism above nationalism.

Although in habits, manners and tastes he was largely a liberal Bengal *zamindar,* intellectually and emotionally he was an internationalist, as the motto he chose for Visva-Bharati, his university—*yatra vishwam bhavati ekanidham* ("where the world forms one single nest") amply testifies.

Tagore's humanism, the humanism of a poetic Erasmus, had many sources. One was the religion he was born

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



into, Brahmoism, a Christianised form of Hinduism. His grand-father, "Prince" Dwarka Nath Tagore, the real founder of the Tagore house, lived in Derozean times, and was a partner of the then famous Agency House of Carr-Tagore. He was thoroughly a Rational-Mercantile man, and the humanitarian interests of the Rational-Mercantilists continued to exist in the Tagore household. His own father, Debendra Nath, turned a conservative Brahmo *zamindar*. And to this partially Theo-Aristocratic heritage must be traced Tagore's ambivalence about the machine in plays like *Rakta-Karabi* ("Red Oleanders"). Tagore's humanism also drew inspiration from the writings of Vaishnava poets like Vidyapati and Chandidas. He was undoubtedly influenced by the West European Romantic poets like Shelley, Keats, Byron, Goethe and Browning.

Tagore, the Humanist, was trying to change our Consciousness towards a Liberal-Humanism. Translations of his prose works and poems into Indian languages are presumably good, but those into English are usually atrocious. For translation from language A to language B, especially of poems, experience indicates that the translator must have language B as his mother-tongue, and be proficient in language A. Let us hope that after the copyright period has expired Tagore will have competent translators, so that his humanism may really leaven Indian life, instead of being a thing apart from it, although respected (as Tagore got the Nobel Prize in 1913).

(xi) *Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* (1869-1948). Mahatma Gandhi believed that all life is one.[85] In this sense he was a Vedantist. He also believed in the ideals of non-violence and non-injury, Theo-Mercantile Jain doctrines in consonance with the tradition of his trading (*vaishya* or *baniya*) caste. The same traditions ingrained in him his revulsion against drinking and meat-eating. From his mother, Putlibai, a very pious and devoted Hindu woman, he derived his penchant for fasts and his Vaishnava humanism. He came across the *Gita,* with its message of constant activity, for the first time, in London, in Sir Edwin Arnold's translation, *The Song Celestial*[86]—a commentary on the Brahmanic exclusiveness in matters of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



scriptures and ideas of his time. Later on, he read the *Gita* in Sanskrit, memorising one verse each morning in the lavatory, till he knew the whole of it by heart.[87]

He was very much influenced by Tolstoy, in South Africa, in 1893, specially his *The Kingdom of God is within you.*[88] A deep and abiding influence was that of John Ruskin's *Unto this Last,* which he read on a train journey from Johannesburg to Durban in 1904, sitting through the whole night. Years later, he stated in his autobiography[89], one of the most fascinating books of all times and all places, because of its candor:— "The teachings of *Unto This Last* I understand to be:

1. that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all. 2. that a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's inasmuch as all have the same rights of earning their livelihood from their work. 3. that a life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living."

Later he translated *Unto This Last* into Gujarati, calling it by the now famous term, *Sarvodaya* ("The welfare of all").

He was also deeply influenced by Thoreau's pamphlet, *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience,* arguing that a man must obey his conscience even against the will of his fellow citizens.[90] This appealed strongly to him.

He got his faith in Passive Resistance basically from the Sermon on the Mount, as he admitted to Joseph J. Doke.[91]

All these teachings and their application in life—Vedantic love of humanity, Passive Resistance to Evil, Welfare for All, Civil Disobedience, Non-violence—constituted for him his Quest for Truth and Purification till the last day of his life on earth. The concept of *satyagraha* ("truth force") is part of this purification process. He once defined *satyagraha* thus:[92] "The idea underlying *satyagraph* is to convert the wrong-doer, to awaken the sense of justice in him, to show him also that without co-operation direct or indirect of the wronged the wrong-doer cannot do the wrong intended by him."

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



His main aim was to purify the country of its divisions and discords, to cleanse Hinduism of its social abominations, like Untouchability, and cruelty towards women in the form of many disabilities heaped on them. He was, however, no grim Savonarola, but a deeply human man. He used, for instance, to lecture Agatha Harrison constantly on the evils of tea-drinking, but whenever she accompanied him on his tours, tea was invariably served to her at 4 p.m.[93]

His idea of the Good Society was basically that of a simple, decentralised one, consisting mainly of villages. There would be no mad craze for wealth, no exploitation, no inequality. All people, even artists and intellectuals, would do manual work to "earn their bread by the sweat of their brow" and to satisfy their primary needs. Free time would be spent for spiritual and cultural development. The villages, based on cooperative principles, would, as far as possible, be self-sufficient. Good sense would govern the relationship between the two sexes. There would be no barrier erected between them and their mutual behaviour would be natural and spontaneous.

He did not give a high place to science and technology in his vision of the Good Society. He was generally antagonistic to science and machines,[94] and fulminated particularly against "Western" medicine in his *Hind Swaraj*, advocating Nature Cure instead, like ice poultices on the belly (*Guide to Health*).

He believed, in the sphere of economics, in a handicraft civilization. Its symbol to him was the spinning wheel, or *charkha*.

What is the importance of the Mahatma's ideas and techniques for the world of today and tomorrow? His *satyagraha* basically means the conversion of an opponent by appealing to his "better" nature. He has underestimated negative forces. He himself observed, while discussing Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, that:[95] "poets do not influence all alike, for everyone is not evolved in an equal measure." It is precisely because of this that everyone cannot become a *Mahatma* and practice *satyagraha* both in spirit as well as in technique.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


The Mahatma's decrying of science, technology and machines is wholly regressive. So are his economics of primitive handicrafts. He went so far as to believe that one had to be rural-minded before one could be non-violent, and therefore, really civilized.[96] His trusteeship idea of wealth also has not caught on. Nor was it original, for over thirty years ago the American Russell Herman Conwell, in his *Acres of Diamond,* preached the same "stewardship of riches" theory. Here again the Mahatma has underestimated the power of the Negative, which is in all of us, as is the Positive.

To the Mahatma civilization meant non-violence, surely a fantastically lop-sided approach. And how successful would his non-violence, based on *satyagraha,* been against the Nazis? His *satyagraha* is based essentially, as he himself has said, on "The Sermon on the Mount". Christianity, as a religion of the poorest urban classes initially, fits in the best, especially in its democratic aspect, amongst all religions existing at the present moment, with Scientific-Democratic Civilization. Hence what, in effect, the Mahatma was doing was to confront the religious ideology of his masters with a schismatic variant of the same faith. Hence its appeal to them, and to the Scientific-Democratic world, hence their hesitation to deal with him with penal severity, hence their parleys with him. In many ways his transmuted creed is much more alike to theirs, in all essentials, than it is to Hinduism. His techniques and his spirit have shown their effectiveness in Martin Luther King's movement for civil rights in the U. S. A., and Chief Albert Luthuli's in South Africa.

There are many spheres where Gandhian tactics and Gandhian ideology are relevant. Thus, economic boycotts and strikes of manifold nature; political non-cooperation; psychological intervention—fasts, self-exposures, non-violent harassment etc; and there are many media for such non-violent action-slogans, leaflets, posters, public speeches, demonstrations, deputations, picketing, lobbying, processions, marches, walk-outs, utilising of song and dance etc. But it is a matter of great danger, and full of concern for everybody, if Gandhian methods are adopted without

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


the Gandhian spirit. It would then become just one more method of domination, aligned to hypocrisy, and will no doubt be met by the more powerful one of force and violence.

How far have the Mahatma's teachings been followed in Free India? An analysis is given below—

(a) Science and Technology—Totally unheeded, and correctly so. We are going ahead with atomic "implosions", space research, and the whole gamut of science and technology. (b) Economics—There has been no effort whatsoever towards achieving a state of self-contained, handicraft-centred, villages. And quite rightly so. (c) Politics etc.—We have large, centralised States, quite contrary to the Mahatma's teachings. *Satyagraha* and non-violence are conspicuous by their total absence. (d) Social relations etc.—Here, the Mahatma's humanism about a better deal for Harijans, women etc. has been adopted, although it cannot be said that anyone is working feverishly in this field. (e) Ideology—The Mahatma's *sarvodaya* concept and Simplified Hinduism are far from being accepted or followed. There is a great deal of hypocrisy in this field as practically all and sundry among the great pay lip-service "to the noble ideals of Gandhiji, in consonance with the great traditions of Indian spiritualism", without meaning any word of what is uttered. (f) Culture—A poorly-read man, without any sense of music or aestheticism, the Mahatma had nothing to offer in this field.

The Mahatma's main legacy is, therefore, in the field of humanism, in his pleading for a better deal for women and for the weaker sections of society. In a wider sphere, his techniques of Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience are of world-wide significance, specially where more short-cut and direct methods of violence are not possible. Like violence, non-violent methods are also coercive. But his methods require a high degree of discipline and ethicality, including genuine love for the opponents, and a desire to win them over, to be successful. Otherwise, in all other fields Mahatma Gandhi is not relevant to Scientific-Democratic Civilization, as the above analysis shows.

(xii) *Jawahar Lal Nehru* (1889-1964) : *Vedantic Hu-*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*manist/Utopian Marxist/Cautious Reformer.* Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has revealed himself in his *Glimpses of World History, Autobiography,* the *Discovery of India,* and a very valuable article "The Basic Approach" in the All-India Congress Committee Economic Review (1958), included in A. B. Shah's *Jawaharlal Nehru—A critical Tribute* (Bombay, 1965).

He is a Vedantist, believing in a Basic Energy, a Life Force, a Divine Impulse pervading the entire Universe, with each living being having a place in the organic whole.[97] Hence his emphasis on individual human beings, and on the necessity of a peaceful approach. But this "supra-rational consciousness" did not incline him to traditional religion, "most of which have long lost their significance". (The quotations, except where otherwise so stated, are from his article *The Basic Approach* (1958), mentioned earlier). He was also against much involvement in metaphysics "for it takes us away from the problems of life". One must be tolerant, in the sense taught by Mahatma Gandhi; one must value means, as wrong means do not lead to right results, and therefore the means must be both ethical and practical. One must never forget the individual and the ethical and spiritual bases of culture.

But he is also a man of science and a fervent one at that. He commends the progressive conquest and understanding of the physical world and its "terrific pace" of development. He wanted India to break through the poverty barrier "by profiting by the new source of power and modern techniques."

How to do this? His solutions flow from his views on history and economics. His theory of history combines three strands[98]

(i) the classical nineteenth-century liberal belief in perpetual progress; (ii) a stress on the role of 'the great man; (iii) sociological analysis of groups or societies in motion, with a strong infusion of Marxist method.

His reading of history led him to an "Utopian Marxist" outlook, to use the phrase of his sister, Krishna Hutheesing[99] He has defined socialism, his historical philosophy,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



as that which "tells us that the general character of social, political and intellectual life in a society is governed by its productive resources. As these productive resources change and develop, so the life and thinking of the community changes." His analysis brings him to hate imperialism and colonialism, which aligns itself with privileged groups or classes, which is for the economic and social status quo, which suppresses progressive productive forces. This is the same as the Communist view. But Pandit Nehru does not support Communism fully. He considers that it comes in the wake of disillusionment, it gives "some kind of faith and some kind of discipline", but it fails, partly because of its rigidity and "even more so, because it ignores certain essential needs of human nature." As for Fascism, it "has all these evil aspects of violence and extermination in their grossest forms and, at the same time, has no acceptable ideal." He is for cooperation, not competition. "The law of life should not be competition or acquisitiveness, but cooperation, the good of each contributing to the good of all." To achieve this spirit "we have to give a new direction to education and evolve a new type of humanity." Here Pandit Nehru's view comes close to the "Creative Altruism" of the Harvard sociologist, Pitrim Sorokin. The forces of a capitalist society "if left unshecked, tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and thus increase the gap between them." Democracy mitigates such effects of capitalism and, therefore, capitalism itself has "developed some socialistic features even though its major aspects remain." Poverty can be removed only by hard work, and this is a "lengthy and difficult process". It is possible to have a backward and poverty-stricken socialism. "It is only through a planned approach on socialistic lines that speedy progress can be attained though even that will take some time. As this process continues, the texture of our life and thinking gradually changes." And planning is essential "because otherwise we waste our resources which are very limited." In this planning there is place for private enterprise also. Planning has to be basically physical planning, and a long-term perspective one, within which the short-term plans

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



should fit in. We cannot rely on Western and Marxist economics to solve our problems. The Western countries were economically better off than India is today, in terms of *per capita* incomes, when their industrialisation began. "Western economics, therefore, though helpful, has little bearing on our present day problems. So also is Marxist economics which is in many ways out of date, even though it throws considerable light on economic processes. We have thus to do our own thinking, profiting by the example of others, but essentially trying to find a path for ourselves suited to our own conditions."

Such, in a nutshell, are Pandit Nehru's ideas on economics and society in general.

He was, as is well-known, a great believer in Parliamentary democracy. He was also a believer in decentralisation, but not to the extent that it forced one to use primitive methods of production. Thus, he was against Mahatma Gandhi's idea of self-sufficient, or near self-sufficient villages. He was also for secularism in public life, but this did not mean disregard for all religions, and tilt towards free-thinking, its real meaning. Rather, following Ashoka and Akbar, it meant tolerance for all (Akbar's *sulh-i-kul*). Such tolerance means, in practice, the continued predominance of the well-entrenched faiths, like Pauranic Hinduism, of *status quo* therefore. Ashoka helped Buddhism and Akbar gave a fillip to the liberal outlook of Indian-Islam, which the non-intervention-in-ideology philosophy of Nerhu did not. It was, in effect, following the same "hands-off" cautious policy as regards social and ideological reform enunciated in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. This was a serious defect in Nehru's policy as it gave no big helping hand to the growth of a new consciousness, a Scientific-Democratic Consciousness, which alone could fight enthusiastically for social change, for planning, and for true democracy, political as well as social. To be successful in all this we must go back to the zestful days of Bentinck and Macaulay.

Pandit Nehru's views on foreign relations follow from his perspectives on history and society. The struggle for freedom is global. Imperialism and colonialism align them-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



selves with the privileged groups and classes to maintain the economic and social status quo, to suppress progressive productive forces. He strongly deprecated economic dependence on other countries "euphemistically called having close cultural and economic ties." Unfortunately, the policy of "aid without strings" has led to a lot of misunderstanding. Our elite classes have, thereby, been absolved of 'tightening their belts', as they could have in the literal sense also, seeing that our food-deficit is normally only of the order of about 2-3%. And aid-givers, thinking that giving aid implied our siding with them, when the time came, have resented our criticising them, and have accused us of intellectual chicanery and ethical dishonesty.

With a background of Nehru's theories it is not difficult to understand his *Panchsheel* or Five Principles, first embodied in the India-China treaty over Tibet in 1950, and later made famous at the Bandung Conference in 1954. The Five Principles were :

(i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (ii) mutual non-aggression; (iii) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (iv) equality and mutual benefit; (v) peaceful coexistence.

This *Panchsheel* drew its inspiration from the Buddhist *Panchsheel,* part of Buddhist ethics against violence, greed, lust, lying and intoxicants. Pandit Nehru no doubt desired to play Ashoka to the Buddha of Mahatma Gandhi, and spread the Gospel of Peace round the world, as Ashoka tried to propagate Buddhism in the world known to him. The selection of the Ashoka *chakra* (wheel) of peace as an adornment on the Indian tricolour flag, and of the Ashoka lions as our emblem is, looked at from this angle, significant and meaningful. Such a *Panchsheel* attitude led, naturally, to 'non-alignment' with power blocs as part of Pandit Nehru's Gospel of Peace. Pandit Nehru himself preferred instead of the term 'non-alignment', the phrase 'positive policy for peace.'[100] 'Non-alignment' now seems to have become a fetish with some, like a *mantra.* But this is our fault. In the Stalin-Dulles era Nehru's non-alignment

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



policy, followed by the "Third World", may well have saved the world from a holocaust.

Nehru was basically a visionary, although also a politician and statesman, basically a teacher who tried to change the Consciousness of the Indian people towards a Fabian type of socialism. Unfortunately, although a Vedantist-Humanist himself, he never attempted to substitute Pauranic Hinduism by this kind of Humanism, and without such a changed ideological foundation, social reforms, planning, democracy etc. are bound to be tardy shoots.

In action he was a social reformer, not a social revolutionary, and cautious about changes, visualising, as has been stated earlier, a "lengthy and difficult" process. He was a Philosopher-King, in the tradition of Ashoka and Akbar. But Ashoka and Akbar had been successful captains of war first and philosophers later. And the Big Stick was always in the background, the Big Stick which they knew well how to use. This was not so in the case of Pandit Nehru. When a whole society is a Scientific-Democratic one it can be prevented, at least for some time, from regressing to a lower stage, Theo-Aristocratic or Theocratic say, by scorpions and whip-lashes. But a Theo-Aristocratic or Near-Theocratic people, aspiring to the material comforts of a higher stage of Civilization, without the corresponding changes in Consciousness, Values and Institutions, have first to be taught the higher disciplines, they cannot be goaded by chain-lashes and hot irons. In any case, Nehru was no Stalin nor Mao, not the man for such methods. He was too much of a Rational-Humanist ("English-gentleman"-cum-Shastri Brahman) for the purpose.

An analysis is given below of Pandit Nehru's legacy—(a) Science and Technology—Pandit Nehru's ideas are being followed, although the mass-permeation is disappointingly slow. (b) Economics—Here, also the Nehru-Mahalanobis model (Ch. 36) holds the field, although the implementation is bogged down by *Going by the Books of Foreign Countries* approach of the Indian elite. (c) Politics etc.—The Nehru system is continuing without change, even when change has become due. Implementation has always been poor. There is no effective politico-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



administrative arrangement for grass-roots work, and the span of control everywhere is too large. Defence Consciousness is notorious by its absence. These gaps and omissions existed before Nehru and continue to exist. (d) Social relations etc. Nehru was an ardent feminist because he was largely a man of the Scientific-Democratic-Feminist Civilization. In theory his views have been accepted by the State apparatus. In actual practice, however, there has been little change in women's position in India, if one takes the total picture, and does not confine oneself to a few fortunate women at the top. The position cannot become better until Manu is dethroned, and Manu cannot be shorn of his crown unless the Consciousness of his guards change from Pauranic Hinduism to Vedantic-cum-Scientific-Democratic. (e) Ideology—Nehru was cautious in this field, following the Canning Approach, instead of the Bentinck-Macaulay one. This was not surprising, seeing Nehru's view that the "texture of our life and thinking gradually changes" with economic changes, and that this latter will be a "lengthy and difficult process". He made no attempt to propagate his concept of Vedantic Humanism. even his *Discovery of India,* the only single-volume work of a single Indian author which takes a perspective view of India's Past, Present and Future, was not encouraged to become a book of compulsory study. If Nehru had been a Lenin or a Mao Indian boys and girls would have been forced to learn The *Discovery of India* by heart. This would have led to a good deal of change in the Consciousness. But perhaps Nehru thought that the Theo-Aristocratic forces were too strong. He was a philosopher, a historian, knew processes took time, and was gradualist in his outlook. (f) Culture—Nehru was apparently not interested in art and architecture; nor in music[102]; and he was poor in languages.[103] But he was a very graceful writer. He contributed much to the revival of folk dances and was responsible, to a great extent, for the colourful pageantry of the annual Republic Day functions at New Delhi.

(xiii) *Muhammad Iqbal* (1873-1958)

Muhammad Iqbal, the Punjabi Muslim poet in Persian

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



and Urdu, of Kashmiri Brahman descent (of which he was inordinately proud) was an educationist and writer. His forte was metaphysics and philosophy. He was in Europe—Cambridge, London and Munich—between 1905 and 1908, for higher studies, and was there much influenced by Nietzsche and by Bergson.

His earlier poetry had a mystic bias, but in Europe, influenced by the ceaseless activity that he saw there, he gave up mysticism (*tasawwuf*), and turned to the concept of "Islam as a social force extending beyond geographical limitations."[104] His philosophy is found in two *mathnavis* (epics), in Persian—*Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self—1915) and the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Self-lessness—1918) and in the later English work with the significant name—*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.*

*Asrar-i-Khudi* deals with the development of Khudi—personality or ego; and the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* with the life of the individual Muslim as part of a bigger Islamic community.

Life, to Iqbal, is a "forward assimilative movement", which removes all obstacles in its path by assimilating it. In its "movement towards uniqueness", the Ego has to pass through these three stages if its maximum possibilities are to be realised:

(i) obedience to the Law; (ii) self-control; (iii) Divine Viceregency.

Apart from his philosophy of self, the emphasis on action, movement and change, and the theory of the three stages of the development of the Ego, Iqbal propounded a definite philosophy of art and literature in his *Asrar-i-Khudi.* Only that art is valuable which strengthens the "Self"—individual or national. Anything which weakens it is to be strongly discouraged.

The Punjabi Muslims whom he saw in his youth were by no means depressed. Indeed, they were quite at the top, and therefore, in his early days of poetry-writing, his burning hatred of injustice led him to take up cudgels on behalf of India as a whole, oppressed by foreigners. Those were the days of *Tarana-e-Hindi* (*Sare Jahan se acchha,*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


of man is the essence of the romantic view of life. Romanticism "is the urge of the will of man to break all the chains that bind him in order to realise his freedom."[109] But this urge by itself cannot create history. It can do so only when allied with reason. "Romanticism tempered with reason, and rationalism enlivened by the romantic spirit of adventure pave the road to successful revolutions."[110] Roy made a clear distinction between true romanticism and false romanticism. True romanticism carries the tradition of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment.[111] Romanticism which is irrational is false.

Roy sees the two thought currents, originating in the Renaissance and in the Reformation respectively, in constant strife, down to present times. The French Revolution had both these strands, the Rational being represented by the Girondists, and the Irrational, influenced by Rousseau and his theory of the General Will, by Robespierre, who personified the Reign of Terror. Marxism and Fascism, according to Roy, both have their origins in Rousseau's irrationalism.[112]

Marx, according to Roy, tried to combine dialectics with the romanticism of Rousseau. The dialectics made history independent of the human will, and thus emasculated reason; on the other hand, by laying too much stress on revolutionary activity, Marx "tipped the scale on the side of irrationalism."[113] In other words, Marx's romanticism (revolution) was not sobered by reason, and his rational dialectical view of history precluded romanticism. "The result was that reason and romanticism cancelled each other, and Marxism became a cult of collective irrationalism." However, Marxism, besides its strong rational element, has an ethical and moral fervour too, and is for ultimate liberty. But the reason-romanticism mix is not properly blended in it. Fascism, however, is "unreservedly irrational."[115] It has no blend of reason in it at all.

Roy criticised Marx's doctrine of class struggles. "Society undoubtedly was always divided into classes, and the classes had conflicting interests. But at the same time, there was a cohesive tendency, which held society together.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Otherwise, it would have disintegrated time and again, and there would be no social evolution."[116]

Roy thought that the excess of the irrational, represented by collectivist social theories like Fascism, Marxism etc. is the cause of the present crisis in civilization. To remedy this, he created the philosophy of New Humanism, or Radical Humanism, reviving, he thought, the traditions of the Renaissance and of the Enlightenment.[117]

Roy stressed the following basic values in his Radical Humanism :—[118] (i) the supreme importance of the individual in society ; (ii) the reconciliation of morality with secularity ; (iii) rational and free thinking of individuals ; (iv) democracy from below, or "grass-roots" democracy.

More specifically, he attacked corruption, and advocated a partyless democracy.

Roy's separation of the ideas-streams from socio-economic factors is a mistake, as the analysis of facts in this book reveals. And although he admitted the mutual influence of ideas and socio-economic factors in theory, in his books he ignored, or minimised, the latter, as G. P. Bhattacharjee points out.[119]

He rightly stressed that there has to be a proper blend of Reason and Romanticism, i.e. of the Cerebrum and of the Thalamus, both essential parts of the brain. In the terminology used in this book there must be the proper blend of Realo-Idealism. Neither Roy nor Marx considered how this is to be determined. It can be gauged only by an analysis of the Configuration, but this has to be a matter of judgement and cannot be mechanically derived.

Marxism takes certain factors of Configurational Dynamics into account—geography, natural resources, internal class relations. But it tends to ignore relations with external societies and the force of past traditions. There also seems to be an assumption that if the modes of production change then change in ideology or Consciousness would follow. Hence Nehru's assertion that the "texture of our life and thinking gradually changes" with economic change. Roy has done a signal service in pointing out, by implication, that this is not automatic. Consciousness has to be consciously changed, as it was in Europe through various

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


Cultural Revolutions (Renaissance, Reformation, Humanism, Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution). Indeed, in Europe the change in Consciousness preceded material transformation, and it has to be so. The cerebrum has to be aware of the environment and in tune with it if it is to change and modify it further. It can, of course, Go By the Book, and imitate others. But then, the springs of change would lie elsewhere than in ourselves. Hence Nehru's belief that technicalisation automatically leads to change in Mental Consciousness must be substituted by Roy's that it has to be induced consciously, as it has been in Europe, Russia, Japan and China.

Roy's stress on human values and on free, rational and scientific thinking is, of course, completely laudable and essential. In his concern for the individual and the stress he lays on the reconciliation of morality with secularity we hear the descendant of *Shastri* Brahmans speaking.

His ideas on partyless democracy are vague and Utopian. How can any instrument of action include all people! Each has to have his or her function. Because all of us eat should we all crowd into the kitchen as cooks? If we do so there will be chaos. On the other hand he is right when he lays stress on "grass-roots" democracy. The Large Span of Control in our present democracy and the absence of the grass-roots approach are big reasons for its success only in a very partial measure.

M. N. Roy failed politically in India. But his influence has not been inconsiderable. No direct influence on Jawahar Lal Nehru can be postulated. But Nehru was a voracious reader, was at one time an admirer of Roy, and may well have sub-consciously come under the spell of Radical Humanism. The influence on Jay Prakash Narayan is direct, and has been admitted by Narayan.[120] The idea of partyless democracy of Jay Prakash Narayan is essentially that of Roy. And many intellectuals in India are crypto-Royists, knowingly or unknowingly.

Indeed, like Nehru, Roy is a philosopher of the Indian Renaissance/Enlightenment, and his writings have a liberating effect—*sa vidya ya vimuktaye* ("that is knowledge which liberates"). They are difficult, because of the un-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



usually high ideas/words ratio, and so digestion is not easy, but they are well worth the study because he is the only modern Indian of the intellectual stature of Voltaire, Diderot and Helvetius, Turgot, Adam Smith and Condorcet.

*General Conclusions.* What do our analyses indicate about the roles for the future of the transmutationists whom we have considered ? The findings are briefly summarised below.

| | |
|---|---|
| (I) / (II) / (III) RAMAKRISHNA AND VIVEKANANDA. TO THIS CATEGORY ALSO ESSENTIALLY BELONGS M. G. RANADE : | They stressed Vedantic Hinduism as an alternative to Pauranic Hinduism. Vedantic Hinduism is untramelled by any dogma which is sacred. Hence it can grow, and can have both an Indian as well as a world-future. |
| (IV) / (V) / (VI) / (VII) SAIYID AHMAD KHAN, MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD, IQBAL, DAYANANDA : | The first three tried to reinterpret the Koran by exegetical methods and so fit it with Scientific-Democratic Values. So did Dayananda with regard to the Vedas. But such a method is intellectually invalid, and cannot lead to results beyond a certain point. In any case Going By the Book is contrary to the spirit of Scientific-Democratic Civilization. |
| (VIII) / (IX) BANKIM/BHUDEV MUKHERJEE : | They believed in the concept of the "Synthesis of the East and the West", that is to say of blending Theocracy or Theo-Aristocracy with Rational-Mercantilism or Scientific-Democratic Values and Institutions. This is like mixing chalk and cheese. |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Curzon revitalised the Archaeological Department, appointed the brilliant Sir John Marshall as its head and passed and enforced the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904). The period 1900-44 may be designated the Marshall period of Indian archaeology. Marshall himself was in India from 1900 to 1934, but his spiritual successors continued his work. Then came the Wheeler period (1944-48), which continues under his spiritual successors.

During Sir John Marshall's stay in India excavations and conservation went on side by side. The Agra Fort, the Taj Mahal, the Qutb complex in Delhi, the Sun Temple at Konarak, the Dilwara temples of Mt. Abu, the Chitor tower, the Dhar and Mandu monuments were all restored. The mementos of India's proud past became visible to all and both the Hindu and Muslim egos received a tremendous boost.

Buddhist sites, Sarnath, Kasia (near Gorakhpur, place of Buddha's *nirvana*), Rajgir (Rajagriha), Barh (Vaishali), Sravasti, Sanchi and Nalanda were excavated and the glories of Buddhist India took visual shape. Similarly, the excavations at Charsadda (ancient Pushkalavati) and Taxila (Takshashila) resusciated Indo-Hellenic culture. At Kumrahar and Bulandibagh, both near Patna, Maurya remains were found, exciting both to scholars and nationalists.

Aurel Stein, in his three excavations in Central Asia (1900-1916), discovered a completely new world, that of Mahayana Buddhism, at Loulan, Miran, and Tun Huang (including the Hall of the Thousand Buddhas) along China's Silk Route.

Dáya Ram Sahni stumbled on Harappa in 1921 and Rakhal Das Banerjee on Mohenjo-Daro about the same time. Indians and Europeans like D. R. Sahni, R. D. Banerjee, M. S. Vats, K. N. Dikshit, N. G. Majumdar, Marshall himself, H. Hargreaves, E. J. H. Mackay and others discovered the Indusian Civilization and pushed back India's past to the 3rd millennium B. C.

Marshall brought out many publications, sumptuously illustrated *Annual Reports,* built museums, many on excavation sites, and popularised archaeology in India. His

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



successor, K. N. Dikshit, established "typological sequence", following the advice of Sir Leonard Woolley, at Ahichchatra ("Serpent Umbrella") in Bareilly District. Ceramics going back to fifteen hundred years were classified by date, and Indian archaeology given a chronological framework.

The dynamic R. E. Mortimer Wheeler used the latest techniques of stratigraphy and typological analysis. He also gave great attention to publication, conservation, museum organisation and systematic training in excavations. He pushed back South Indian archaeology by cross dating finds with Roman coins and Arretine pottery occurring in the same layers. By similar cross-dating methods he gave a chronology to the megalithic site at Brahmagiri, which he excavated. He discovered the Red-and-Black Ware, later found to be widespread in the Deccan and in Central India. Among his pupils have been B. B. Lal, N. R. Banerjee, M. N. Deshpande, B. K. Thapar, and many others now prominent in Indian archaeology. Their researches have been utilised in many chapters in Part III of this book. Using modern chronology-fixing techniques like radio-carbon dating (with the assistance of D. P. Aggarwal of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research) they have brought a good measure of precision and exactitude to early Indian history. (*Reconciliation*).

*Colonial Historians:*

In Chapter 25 we have seen that James Mill, H. H. Wilson and Mountstuart Elphinstone tried to fix a history-consciousness in the minds of students of India. Mill devised the Hindu-Muslim-British periodisation, equating this with the West European division of its history into—Ancient—Medieval—Modern. At once the British period became equivalent to all that is new and best in the world, which Mill thought could be brought to India by legislation. But after the 1857-59 upheavels British-Indian historians, many of them colonial administrators, played down, almost to zero, the necessity for change by social legislation. Instead, they emphasised law, administration, and the political framework. They thought of themselves as somewhat like the Romans and believed that British

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



responsibility lay only in giving a good and clean administration, justice, and education, and that it would be for educated Indians to lift themselves and their fellow-men. They followed Mill and Elphinstone in their poor estimate of Indians, specially of Hindus. Said Mill[121] :—"In the still more important qualities, which we call the moral character, the Hindu ranks very low". Muslims were better[122]—"it will not admit of any long dispute, that human nature in India gained, and gained very considerably, by passing from a Hindu to a Mohammadan government." The very sympathetic Elphinstone held that[123]—"the most prominent vice of the Hindus is want of veracity, in which they outdo most nations even of the East."

They also believed in the infinite cultural superiority of the Greeks and of the Romans to Indians in all spheres, a trait shared by their successor colonial-historians. As the books written by such historians, like those of Mill and of Elphinstone, were standard text-books, they shaped the history-consciousness of educated Indians and of their British rulers, and deserve to be mentioned if we are to understand the reasons for the strength of the Ultra-Nationalist and Romantic Anti-Colonial Schools which opposed it, schools which are very much alive and are with us today. (1976).

J. Talboys Wheeler published five volumes of *History of India from the Earliest Times* between 1867 and 1876. Wheeler held that the Hindus had lived for ages fettered by religious superstition, that the Mughals practised a "monstrous system of oppression and extortion" and that the country was "saved from the most hopeless of anarchies by the introduction of European rule."[124]

Col. G. B. Malleson wrote several books on Indian history between 1868 and 1883. He held that the British defeated the French and conquered India because of the strength of the British character. Individual Indians had intelligence, fidelity and courage, but they could not unite.[125]

The Law Member, Sir James Fitz James Stephen, was also a historian. The Radical Englishman, Beveridge, a

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Civilian to boot, wrote in 1886 that Nanda Kumar was judicially murdered by Warren Hastings. Stephen had defended Hastings in a book in 1885, more as a barrister than as a historian.[126] His friend, Sir John Strachey, author of the standard-text-book *India* (1888), and other books, bemoaned the fact that "disparagement of their own countrymen has always been one of the common failings of unwise Englishmen....."[127] He himself desisted from such 'crimes', for which he held James Mill responsible, and preached the civilizing mission of England.

Sir William Hunter, among other things, edited 28 short studies, from 1899, in *The Rulers of India* series. The theme is the same which he propounded, as a young man, in *Annals of Rural Bengal* (1868)—that it was Britain's role to breakdown all physical, racial and social barriers and create a united Indian nation.

Sir Alfred Lyall in his *Asiatic Studies* (1882/1889) and *The Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India* (1894) denied that there was ever an Indian nation. He said that there were no nationalities at all in India, no long-seated dynasties or ancient aristocracies, no solid or permanent organisation. Hence the ease with which India was conquered. Like Sir Henry Maine (*Ancient Law*, 1861) Lyall held that Indian society was 'not unlike ancient European society in an arrested state of development.' It was 'a mere loose conglomeration of tribes, races, and castes'.[128] As regards Hindu religion Lyall held that for the masses there was almost no connection between religion and morality; and that Hinduism was simply a name for a perplexity of diverse practices and beliefs without any organized church to reduce them to order.[129]

Vincent Smith (1848-1920) was the last of the important colonial historians of India, his most notable works being *Early History of India* (1904) and the *Oxford History of India* (1919), long standard-text books. In many ways Smith was sympathetic to India, and fair-minded. But Smith's main thesis is that since caste makes human brotherhood impossible, and since it will continue for untold centuries, India, if left to her own devices, will revert either to 'Oriental despotism' or to anarchy.[130]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Smith was fascinated by autocracy and was a hero-worshipper, his greatest hero being Alexander. About one-seventh of his *Early History of India* deals with Alexander's raid. Smith holds that anarchy was the normal state of Indian politics and that "even now, in the twentieth century, she would relapse quickly into that condition, if the firm although mild control exercised by the paramount power should be withdrawn."[131]

Many colonial historians, and others like Tarn, saw India indebted to the Greeks for their civilization. The Indian Epics were indebted to Homer, Indian drama, mathematics, philosophy and astronomy were derived from the Greeks, and even the Krishna cult was derived from Christ.[132] To enable such suppositions to be made, Indian chronology was deliberately kept low.[133] (*Imposition*).

*The Pan-Aryanists:*

The distortions, deliberate and unconscious both, practised by the Colonial historians, produced many kinds of counter-distortion. One was Pan-Aryanism. We have dealt with the Jones Colebrooke—Max Müller hypothesis of the Aryan origin of Indians. Many mixed up race and language, and since much of India was Aryan-speaking, it was held that those who spoke Aryan languages were Aryans by race also. E. B. Havell, a sympathetic Englishman, in his *History of Aryan Rule in India* (1918) laid stress on the Aryan heritage of India for all that is good in her civilization; he stated that there is an inherent affinity between Englishmen and Indians because both are Aryans and that England should encourage India's aspirations to self-government under the Crown.

Many Indians avidly accepted such theories, and even today Pan-Aryanism is widely held in Aryan-speaking India. The Aryan hypothesis has exacerbated "high caste —low caste" differences, as Gail Omvedt has observed;[134] and those of the North and the South, on the notion that all Northerners are Aryans and all Southerners defeated Dravidians. We have seen in Chapter 11 how fanciful and incorrect such ideas are.

The Pan-Aryanist Indians seemed to say aloud to the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


British: "We are the same as you. Only our skin colour has been darkened by the sun. Please recognise it, and behave with us as you do with other Europeans."

A recent Pan-Aryanist is Nirad Chaudhuri (*The Continent of Circe,* 1966). (*Reconciliation*).

*Ultra-Nationalists:*

Another distortion was that of Ultra-Nationalism, of which only a few prominent illustrations are given below.

The Ultra-Nationalists pushed back Indian chronology, going to the other extreme compared to the low chronology of some Colonial historians. Thus, Tilak placed the *Rig Veda* at about 4000 B.C., compared to Max Müller's 1200 B.C., in his *Orion* (Bombay, 1893), and *The Arctic Home in the Vedas* (Bombay, 1903). A. C. Das put the composition of some of the hymns in the *Rig Veda* to ancient geological times, before the end of the Tertiary Epoch!

K. P. Jayaswal (1881-1937), a lawyer-historian, wrote more like the former, than the latter, in the cause of Indian nationalism. In his *Hindu Polity* (1918), a tremendously successful work, he sought to show that Ancient India had representative institutions, that the Indian king was a constitutional monarch, and that ancient Indian republics were like modern Western ones. The keynote idea was—whatever the West has today by way of political ideas and institutions, India had them thousands of years ago.

R. K. Mookerji also served the cause of nationalism in his *History of Indian Shipping* (1912), *Fundamental Unity of India* (1914) and *Local Government in Ancient India* (1919). Indian shipping was as good as anyone's, so was local self-government; and India has always been one.

Many Indian scholars, including the ordinarily cautious R. C. Majumdar, boasted in their books about 'Indian colonies' outside India, specially in South-East Asia, although no evidence of large-scale Indian emigration to that area exists.

K. M. Munshi in one of his introductions to the *History and Culture of the Indian People* boasted that 'Ashoka was the first founder of the welfare state.....' (Vol. II,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



XVII) without giving any reasons for his strange statement.

There were other kinds of ultra-nationalism. Some tried to "prove" that British military victories were due to the treachery of Indians and to British bribes.

A Hindu-Muslim *bhai-bhai* school also grew up to "prove" that India was always one, that Hindus and Muslims always behaved like brothers, and that India was subjected to foreign domination for the first time under the British. The regional language books were more extreme. For instance, Akshay Kumar Maitra, in his *Siraj-ud-daula* (1897) made out this last Nawab of Bengal to be a great patriot, a view not shared by his contemporaries.

*Romantic Anti-Colonialists:*

We are so much indebted to the Scientific-Democrats for so many aspects of our History-Consciousness that it comes as no surprise that the first prominent anti-colonialist was W. Digby, towards the end of the nineteenth century. Digby asserted in his *Prosperous British India* that Britain was unfairly exploiting India and draining her of all her wealth. This was to be the keynote of the writings of the school of romantic anti-colonialists—foreigners are responsible for all of India's ills. Once they go, all will be well and the Golden Age will come back.

Many Indians echoed his views. Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* has already been mentioned. R. C. Dutt in his *Economic History of India* 2 Vols (1901 and 1903) had basically a political purpose—to criticise the Government of India for its land revenue policy. Major B. D. Basu, in several works, in the early part of the twentieth century, catalogued the "evil deeds, errors of omission and commission, of the British in both economic and political spheres..... his main object was to draw a lurid picture of the British in India and to arraign them before the bar of public opinion of the world."[135] Several books were obviously party political tracts, like A. C. Mazumdar's *Indian National Evolution*, C. Y. Chintamani's *Indian Politics since the Mutiny* and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


Surendra Nath Banerjea's *A Nation in the Making,* all of pre-World War II vintage.

Such books did much to produce euphoria in the Indian mind, as the theme was—foreigners are responsible for all our ills. It prevented us from looking inwards to find where the real lacunae lay.

*Regional chauvinists:*

It is but one step, in a multi-lingual country like India, from ultra-nationalism to regional chauvinism. A few examples are given here. R. C. Majumdar and the Dacca University *History of Bengal* (Vol. I, 1943) "tends to over-emphasize the power of Bengali kings and goes to special efforts to exonerate Sasanka, whom most earlier historians depicted as a sadistic tyrant."[136] "Similarly in the numerous works of V. R. R. Dikshitar the history of the Tamil country was handled in the spirit rather of a counsel for the defence than of a judge."[137] Practically all works written in the regional languages suffer from the defect of regional chauvinism.[138]

*Religious Chauvinism:*

Another aspect of the rising history-consciousness was religious chauvinism. Altaf Husain Hali in his Urdu poetical works in the last decades of the nineteenth century, *Musaddas* and *Shikwa-i-Hind,* gave out Muslim-Indians to be foreigners by origin, and sang of the vanished glories of Muslim rule in India.

Munshi Zakaullah, in his 10-volume history of India in Urdu, *Tarikh-e-Hindusthan,* published in the nineties of the last century, concluded, according to A. B. M. Habibullah[139] that "the Hindus had nothing worth mentioning—at least nothing that could be compared with those of the Muslims whose rule, therefore, brought civilization to India." Shibli Nomani propagated similar views, while Abdul Halim Sharar "romanticised" the "portrayal of the Islamic milieu."[140]

Many histories written by Hindus, including the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People* smack, consciously or unconsciously, of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Hindu chauvinism, some slightly, others more, over the whole spectrum.

*Realo-Idealists :*

There have been, however, men of intellectual integrity and realo-idealism right from the beginning. In this category must be placed those Englishmen who laid, painstakingly, the solid factual foundations of Indian social history, like the Census men and the writers of gazetteers, Crooke, Thurston, Ibbetson, Risley etc. down to J. H. Hutton in the nineteen-thirties, following in the footsteps of Henry Maine of the first half of the nineteenth century. On the linguistic side there are the monumental volumes of Sir George Grierson, authoritative even today.

In economic history, in the nineteen twenties came out Lilian Knowles' *The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire* and Vera Anstey's *The Economic Development of India.* Among other Realo-Idealist Europeans of the nineteen twenties and subsequently, are L. de la Vallee Poussin, whose works, however, are not much known in India as he wrote in French ; G. T. Garratt (*The Legacy of India*) ; E. J. Thompson and G. T. Garratt (*Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*) ; L. S. S. O'Malley (*Modern India and the West*) ; and post-1947 writers like the kindly and sympathetic A. L. Basham (*The Wonder that was India*), Michael Edwardes (*Raj*) etc.

There have been many Indians in the field also. In ancient Indian history R. C. Dutt, R. G. Bhandarkar, H. C. Roy Chaudhuri, H. C. Roy and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of earlier generations. And among others to give some illustrative names in alphabetical order, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, N. R. Banerjee, Sukumari Bhattacharji, Satish Chandra, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, D. P. Chattopadhyay, N. K. Dutt, G. S. Ghurye, S. Gopal, Nurul Hasan, P. V. Kane, Irawati Karve, D. D. Kosambi, B. B. Lal, T. V. Mahalingam, D. N. Majumdar, S. C. Malik, M. Mujeeb, R. V. Nadkarni, Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Arabinda Poddar, Ishwari Prasad, Amita Roy, Sarat Chandra Roy, G. S. Sardesai, Jadu Nath Sarkar, Susobhan Sarkar, Surendra Nath Sen, S. Vaiyapuri

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Pillai, N. Subrahmanian, R. S. Sharma, Romila Thapar and N. G. Wagle. Some of the works of most of these authors have been referred to in several places in this volume. However, they have illumined only portions of India's past or present. None of them has published works taking a perspective on India in its totality.

### O. Changing Attitudes in the Literature of the Conquerors

The period 1857-1947 can, very broadly, be divided into two—1857 to the First World War; and the subsequent period. The first was one of cocksureness—in belief in British superiority and in the permanence of the Empire; in the second, doubts and introspection creep in. But both are animated by the doctrines of British race superiority and of the ineradicable difference between "East" and "West". (Conquest).

But still, small as a man's hand, exist feelings of reconciliation, and with time this grows. (Reconciliation).

The foremost authors of the first period were G. A. Henty (1832-1902), Bithia Mae Croker (d. 1920), Flora Annie Steel (1847-1927), Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856-1934) and Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). In the second period the most famous have been E. M. Forster, E. J. Thompson and Rumer Godden. Others who were popular were F. W. Bain, Maud Diver, Edmund Candler, Ethel M. Dell, Gordon Casserly, P. C. Wren, Jon Godden, Christine Weston, Denis Stoll, and more recently, John Masters and Paul Scott.

To Henty India was a land of adventure and his books like *With Clive in India* (1884), *Through the Sikh War* (1894) and *At the Point of the Bayonet* (1902) have excited and delighted generations of British schoolboys.

Kipling presented India and the "East" as places where one could do anything:—

> Ship me somewhere east of Suez,
> where the best is like the worst,
> Where there aren't no Ten Commandments
> an' a man can raise a thirst.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The East is also a land of romance to some, although the *memsahib* saw to it that romances did not end in marriages. Sings Kipling—

I am sick o'wastin' leather on
these gritty pavin'—stones,
An' the blasted English drizzle wakes
the fever in my bones;
Tho' I walks with fifty 'ousemaids
outer Chelsea to the Strand
An' they talks a lot o'lovin', but not
do they understand?
Beefy face an' grubby 'and—law!
wot do they understand?
I've a meater, sweeter maiden in a cleaner,
greener land!
On the road to Mandalay.....

But these are dalliances. The Englishman in India was basically very serious. He is imbued with the doctrines of race superiority, with the ineradicable difference between the "East" and the "West", and with the stern duty of carrying, in an inhospitable climate, and among strange, dark peoples, the "White Man's Burden", an expression coined by Kipling.

It was British *blood* which gave them their special position in India. It is because of this blood that Kim (in Kipling's *Kim*) orders his departmental superior, Huree Chunder Mookerjee, who obeys him; that Ma Sein, the Anglo-Burmese girl, is leader of all the children's games (as late as 1935 in A. E. W. Mason's *The Sapphire*); and that in an hour of crisis the natives turn to the 'very black' Michele d'Cruz, who has 'seven-eighth native blood in his veins'. (Kipling's story—*His Chance in Life*).

Hence, Flora Annie Steel, a writer broadly sympathetic to India, declares proudly that the British are 'a ruling race which, with all its eccentricities, rules better than even the fabled Vicramaditya himself.' (*The Potter's Thumb*, London 1894, p 16).

Above this doctrine of blood is something mystic, the ineradicable difference between "East" and "West". Sang

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Kipling in his *The Ballad of East and West*—

> Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
> Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgement seat.

But he made exceptions, where two physically and mentally strong men met—

> But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth.

This feeling of ineffable separateness of "East" and "West" continued even after the First World War. Thus, philosophised E. M. Forster (in his foreword to *Flowers and Elephants* by Constance Sitwell, London, 1927, pp. 7-8) :—

> To the Westerner, be he artist or merchant, a flower is usually a flower, an elephant is an elephant, and a diamond a diamond; objects to the Westerner remain real and separable; they can be understood and described, they can be possessed or sold.....To the Indian nothing is real and nothing is separable; elephants and flowers and diamonds all blend and are part of the veil of illusion which severs unhappy mortals from truth.

And E. J. Thompson muses through his character, John Findlay (in *An End of the Hours,* London, 1938, p. 137) :—

> East and West start their whole philosophy of life and existence on different bases. *We* think of the individual, *they* of the process.....Individuality is to us the peak and purpose of the whole cosmic process. But it *isn't* to these fellows: To them the individual is merely part of the phenomena.....

One of Maud Diver's characters expresses the same view in a dramatic way (in *Far to Seek,* London, 1921, p. 251) :—

> England-returned—no hope anywhere; no true

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



country now; no true belief; no true home; everything divided in two.

Maud Diver thinks she has a solution—it is if both parties remain true to their 'racial characteristics'. There is then a continuous interplay between 'East' and 'West', between the spiritual, passive and fatalistic on the one hand, and the practical and assertive on the other, as in the successful marriage of Lilamani Singh and Sir Nevil Sinclair in one of her novels.

But E. M. Forster thinks that it is no good—the twain just cannot meet. At the end of his *A Passage to India*, Fielding and Aziz ride back to Mau together, arguing. At one stage Fielding catches hold of Aziz affectionately and asks—'Why can't we be friends now?.....It's what I want. It's what you want.' Says Forster:—

> But the horses didn't want it—they swerved apart; the earth didn't want it, sending up rocks through which riders must pass single file; the temple, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House that came into view as they issued from the gap and saw Mau beneath; they didn't want it, they said in their hundred voices, 'No, not yet', and the sky said, 'No, not here'.

All these British authors successfully created stereotypes of Englishmen and Indians—Englishmen as brave, hard-working, dutiful, laconic; Hindus as cunning and full of duplicity, cowards and cheats—the *baniya* as the type-figure; Muslims as go-getters, direct, honest, horse-riding —the loyal soldier as type figure; the Bengali *babu* (a Hindu) as too talkative, disloyal, inept and ridiculous—the lawyer, biting the British hand which fed it as the type-figure. These images have persisted, both within and outside India, and have largely contributed to the myth, widely held in several places, that one Pakistani is equivalent to ten Indians.

The Bengali *babu* served the British more or less loyally in the capital city of Calcutta for about 150 years. But from the last decades of the nineteenth century, with increasing "Western" education they turned nationalist, and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



seditious. The full fury and contempt of the British was now vented on them. They are the *bandar log* (monkeys) of Kipling.

Thomas Anstey Guthrie created two comic and ludicrous Bengali *babu* characters for *Punch*—Hurry Bungsho Jabberjee and Chunder Bindabaun Ghosh. The overall image of the Bengali *babu* which emerges from Guthrie's hands is that of[141]—"a not very bright, pretentious, foolish, if not totally unlikeable, clown." In Kipling's stories (e.g. *The Head of a District*) the Bengali is a coward, and effeminate, the very opposite of British masculinity. Kim's Bengali friend, Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, is affectionately drawn. He is interested in collecting examples of native folk-lore so that he can become a Fellow of the Royal Society, and he ridicules superstitions—yet he is frightened by a sorceress!

Even after the first World War the Bengali is the most hated of the Hindus because "their race furnishes the extremist and disloyal elements in India" (Gordon Casserly—*The Elephant God,* London, 1920, p 11). The Anglicised Chunnerbutty in Gordon Casserly's *The Elephant God* is despicable as he participates in the anti-British movement, although he is supposed to be a friend of the Dalehams, in whose tea-estate he is an engineer, and whose daughter, Noreen, he loves. The Bengali *babu* is still the villain of the piece as late as 1950 in Jon Godden's *The Seven Islands,* although she is sympathetic to India and is full of respect for both Hindus and Hinduism.

But there is a reconciliatory spirit also peeping right from the beginning of this period. The empathic Kipling pays a tribute to the regimental *bhisti* (water-carrier), Ganga Din, who died to save one of the Tommies who had abused him, beat him, and mercilessly maltreated him. And in his story of *Puran Bhagat,* contained in Book Two of *The Jungle Books,* he has caught the spirit of Indian Theo-Aristocratic renunciation and selfless service as few have been able to do. He was also empathic enough to have appropriated, no doubt unconsciously, the *Pancha-tantra* method of teaching through animal stories, although the stories in his *Jungle Books* are his own. They tell of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Akela, the Lone Wolf; Bagheera, the Black Panther; Shere Khan, the Lame Tiger; Tabaqi, the Jackal; Baloo, the Brown Bear; Kaa, the Python; Raksha, the Wolf; and above all, the wolf-cub boy, Mougli. The lessons taught are those of justice, loyalty and friendship. The *Jungle Books* inspired Baden-Powell to institute the junior section of his Boy Scout Movement—the Wolf Cubs.

No one, except Edmund Candler, but that as far back as 1922 (in *Abdication*) advocated the idea that Britain should get out. E. J. Thompson's Robin Alden partially agrees with him when he says—'We neither govern nor misgovern. We're just hanging on, hoping that the Last Trump will sound "Time!" and save us from the bother of making a decision" (*A Farewell to India,* London, 1930, p. 151). There are other figures like Alden, who want to "understand India," men like Candler's journalist, Riley; Forster's schoolmaster, Fielding; and Orwell's business-man, Flory. And this mood leads authors to find some praise for India, the land of their residence.

Partly this takes the form of adulation of Buddhism and of Hindu mysticism. Even Kipling admired Buddhism, and his lama in *Kim* has been stated by G. T. Garratt to be the only Indian character who is 'in the round' rather than 'in the flat'.[142] Maud Diver refers to the Buddhist Middle Path as the only way of Truth. (*The Great Amulet,* London, 1914, p. 16). E. J. Thompson's Alden muses —'India.....made the mistake of millenniums and shackled and ravaged herself for all future times, when she rejected the Buddha and chose the other way (*An End of the Hours,* London, 1938, pp. 232-33). Leonard Woolf says that 'Buddhism seems to me superior to all other religions'. (*Growing,* London, 1961, p. 159).

Even Hinduism is now dealt with sympathetically by some novelists. Somerset Maugham set the pace with his famous *The Razor's Edge* (London, 1944). India is here a haven of mystic peace, where restless Westerners can find balm to anoint their souls. Nevil Shute's *The Chequer Board* (1947) is in the same vein. The Godden sisters, Jon and Rumer, attempt to reproduce the "timelessness" of India, which they think is peculiarly Hindu. For instance,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Rumer in her *The River*. Even Hindu temple carvings now find praise—for instance, in William Buchan's *Kumari*.

Even the Bengali *babu*, hated and despised, gets an occasional kind word. E. J. Thompson, who served as an educational missionary in Bengal, says that 'every Bengali is a born nurse, and compassion comes naturally to this race'. (*An Indian Day*, London, 1927, p. 131) ; And that the Bengalis are 'a race of poets'. (*A Farewell to India*, London 1930, p. 183).

The panoramic pictures of John Masters and Paul Scott, post-1947 authors, are essentially sympathetic and fair, going back to the pre-1857 reconciliatory traditions. Indeed, before 1857 the master-servant relationship was not so acute. A Rational-Mercantile Civilization had collided with a Theo-Aristocratic one, but the differences were not so great as to preclude sympathy. Novelists like Walter Scott (*A Surgeon's Daughter*) and W. D. Arnold (*Oakfield*) dealt with India and Indians in a sympathetic way. But already the incipient Industrial Civilization was becoming different and a Thackeray reffected its cynicism vis-a-vis India.

After 1857 matters became different, not only because of the upheavals, but much more as a consequence of the growing gap in technicalization. Increasing technicalization bred a new mentality among the conquerors, a feeling of unassailable superiority, and this found expression in the crude jingles and phrases of Kipling—'East is East and West is West'/'The White Man's Burden'. This happened as the processes of historical change were not understood, and what is really due to a difference in Stages of Civilization was attributed to race and skin-colour. The knocks delivered by the Nationalists pricked the bubble of confidence, and in the post-1900 era we have E. M. Forster and E. J. Thompson, who doubted both the validity of British rule and its permanence. But they also held, along with Kipling, that race is a barrier, and that the 'East' and the 'West' cannot meet. Each race should be true to its racial characteristics; and that the 'West' is practical and aggressive while the East is spiritual and passive.

The real reason for the growing difference was, how-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ever, the immensely faster rate of technicalization of the "West". A small layer in India, active, was also partially technicalized, and constituted the ferment in the Indian scene. The rest was inactive, inert. This small group imbibed the ideology which goes well with technicalization—the doctrines of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. So the Nationalists wanted Liberty first. Then only could there be question of equality and friendship.

Without Liberty and Equality (which latter means belonging to the same Stage of Civilization) there can be no communication (Fraternity), which is now lacking, as brought out very well by William Buchan, in his *Kumari* (London, 1955, p. 119)—

> Armin cursed the symbolism of his situation five storeys up above this ancient, unaltered life, surrounded with civilized comfort, relatively rich and free, and yet utterly at the mercy of the humble, unwilled enchantments rising from below. At times he longed to go down and join the dark drummer and his friends..... Then he would think how deeply shocked they would be, and how uncomprehending, and would cry, silently: 'There is no communication'.

It may be said that 'there is no communication' between the partially technicalized upper classes of India and the vast masses also. Communication can come either by the top layers abandoning modernization; or by modernizing the bottom layers. There is no other way.

### P. Transformation of Indian Literature

*General:*

We have seen in Chapter 25 that prose literature was developed by foreign missionaries, largely for religious purposes, during 1757-1857, in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu etc. using the printing press. We have also seen that the newly educated bourgeoisie used the printing press for secular purposes as well. During the present period all the forms of Scientific-Democratic literature, mentioned earlier, viz. Romantic/Realo-Idealist/Socio-Psychological

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



/Radical/ Surrealist, came into existence in all the Indian languages. They came into existence through the stimulus of English, direct, or indirect. As Bengali came into closer contact with English, and for a longer period than most other Indian languages, seeing that Calcutta was the base of British operations in India, the secondary influencing source was largely Bengali.

It is not possible for most people to know all the languages of India, and the literatures in them. Translations into English also are few and far between. Hence what is attempted here is only to categorize important writings. For this the P. E. N. and Sahitya Akademi series, and special books on the authors in various languages as well as books like Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's *Languages and Literatures of Modern India* (Calcutta 1963) have been used and the broad consensus taken.

*Bengali :*

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94), an archetype figure, wrote many romantic and romantic-historical novels like *Durgesh-Nandini* ("Daughter of the Lord of the Fort"), *Kapal-Kundala* (name of a heroine), *Ananda Math* ("The Monastery of Bliss") and *Devi Chaudhurani* (the name of the heroine, fighting against the British in the 1770's). His famous song, *Bande Mataram* (Hail Mother) appears in *Ananda Math.* Bankim was anti-Muslim and pro-British, praising them, not only in *Ananda Math,* but also in two separate essays in *Vividha Prabandha* ("Miscellaneous Essays").

A genre of patriotic poems came into existence with Rangalal Banerjee, Naveen Chandra Sen, Hem Chandra Banerjee and Rabindra Nath Tagore (*Katha o Kahini*— 'Words and Tales' 1899).

Jyotirindra Nath Tagore (1848-1925) wrote romantical-historical dramas, Romesh Chunder Dutt (1848-1909), romantic-historical novels and Girish Ghosh (1844-1911) romantic-historical dramas. Rabindra Nath Tagore had the distinction of composing the national songs of both India (*Jana Gana Mana*) and Bangladesh (*Amar Sonar Bangla*). His *Geetanjali* ("Song Offerings"), romantic-mystic, won

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



for him the Nobel Prize in 1913. The whole genre of his songs—*Rabindra Sangeet*—is romantic. Many of his stories in *Galpa Guchcha* ("Bunch of Stories") are romantic.

Nazrul introduced the *ghazal* form in Bengali and wrote many love poems. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee wrote many novels and novelettes dealing with romantic love like *Devdas, Bar-didi* ("Eldest Sister"), *Dena-Paona* ("Debit and Credit") and *Datta* ("The Betrothed"). In *Pandit Moshai* ("Learned Professor") Sarat shows the richness of the love-life among the "low-caste" Bairagis as contrasted with that of the inhibited Theo-Aristocratic *bhadralok* (gentry), more 'Theo' than 'Aristocratic'.

Among romantic poets may be mentioned Mohit Lal Majumdar. Coming to romantic prose writers nearer our times there is Subodh Ghosh. It is not clear whether Buddhadev Bose will stand the test of time well. Anurupa Devi has not.

Among the main Socio-Psychological writers are again Bankim, Tagore, Sarat and Bibhuti Banerjee. Tagore, in *Ghare Baire* (The Home and the World, 1915), debates, against a background of a romantic triangle, the question of ends and means in attaining freedom. *Chokher Bali* (1903) deals with the desire for love of a widow; *Nauka Dubi* ("The Wreck"), the brief encounter of a man and a woman, both ship-wrecked; *Shesher Kavita* (1929) love in "modern society"; *Dui Bon* ("Two Sisters", 1933), love and jealousy between two sisters for the same man; and *Malancha* ("Bower" 1934), a triangle between a sick woman, her husband and his childhood sweetheart. Many of his short stories are socio-psychological.

Sarat in his *Bamuner Meye* ("Brahman's Daughter") pokes fun at the aristocratic system of marriage; *Arakshaniya* ("Too old to keep at home"), shows that even a mother can turn against a daughter in a rigid, conventional society. *Palli Samaj* ("Village Society") is full of the bickering, cowardice and hypocrisy of village elders, over which rises the deep love between Ramesh and Rama. *Sri Kanta* is an epic book about the love between Sri Kanta and Rajlakshmi, through many vicissitudes.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Bibhuti Bhushan Banerjee's *Pather Panchali* ("Tale of the Road") triology has been made famous by the cinematographic genius of a fellow-Bengali, Satyajit Ray.

Among more modern socio-psychological writers are the poets Jivanananda Das, Naresh Guha, Niren Chakravarti and Arun Kumar Sarkar. A modern socio-psychological novelist of distinction is Bimal Kar (for instance, *Asamay* —"at the wrong time", probing into the hearts of men and women, aphoristic, replete with wisdom). Another writer of such stature is Jyotirindra Nandi.

Bankim again figures as a Realo-Idealist writer, specially in his essays. His *Samya* ("Equality", 1879) is almost Radical and Quasi-Marxist, although nowhere does Bankim refer to Marx, and he does not desire any structural change in the socio-economic system. Shivnath Sastri in his *Ramtanu Lahiri o tatkalin Banga Samaj* ("Ramtanu Lahiri and the Bengali Society of his time", 1903) gave a faithful account of the sowing of the seeds of transformation in Bengal in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tagore, in his *Gora* ("The Fair One" 1910) is a Realo-Idealist. The figure of Tara Shankar Banerjee (1898-1972), a literary Leftist, towers the highest among Realo-Idealist writers. Mahasveta Devi, herself a famous Realo-Idealist writer, has given an account of his works, for non-Bengalis, in the March 1969 issue of *Indian Literature*. Tara Shankar's world is that of Labhpur, his native village, in Birbhum, with its dry red soil, snake charmers, nomad magicians, *patuas* or village painters, dust storms, floods, toiling peasants, capitalist exploiters. He sees change as inevitable and desirable but has nostalgia for the vanishing Theo-aristocratic way of life, as brought out in practically all his short stories and novels; as for instance, *Jalsaghar* ("Hall of Music"), *Arogya Niketan* ("Convalescence Home") and the epic *Gana Devata* ("God of the People") and *Pancha Gram* ("Five Villages"). Other notable Realo-Idealists include Mahasveta Devi (*Andharmanik,* name of a village in Bengal during the time of Maratha raids in the 18th century, and of population movements) ; Bimal Mitra (*Saheb, Bibi o Golam*—Master, Mistress and Slave; *Ekak, Dashak, Shatak*—First, Tenth

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Hundreth, corruption among modern politicians); and Shankar (Mani Shankar Mukherjee—*Chowringhee*—life in a big hotel). The triology *Svarga Martya Patal*—Heaven, Earth & the Underworld, (a panorama of Calcutta life in the nineteen fifties and sixties); "Banaphul" or Dr Balai Chand Mukherjee (*Jangam* or "Dynamic"); Annada Shankar Roy (*Jar Jatha Desh* or "Each to his Country", a near-epic); and Sunil Gangopadhyay (*Arjun*—life in a refugee colony). Abdul Jabbar, writing about poor people, has broken new ground with works like *Mukher Mela* ("Fair of Faces"), *Banglar Chalchitra* ("Pen Pictures of Bengal") etc.

Of the Radicals, the most famous is Nazrul Islam, fighting tyranny and injustice with each and every of his poems. The two stanzas given below, from "The Rebel" (1921) illustrates his fiery spirit.[143]

I am ever irrepressible, impudent and merciless;
I am the dancing Shiva of the Great Cataclysm,
I am cyclone, I am destruction,
I am mortal terror, I am the curse of the earth,
I am irresistible,
I destroy everything to bite!
I am the negation of all rule, I am reckless,
I trample down all restraints, all bonds of do's and don'ts!
I obey no law,
I sink vessels laden to the brim,
I am the torpedo and the terrible floating mine!
I am Shiva with his flying locks who ushers the untimely nor'wester of summer,
I am the rebel, the mutinous child of the Goddess of the universe!
Say, valiant one, my head remains very high!
.. .. .. .. .. ..
.. .. .. .. .. ..
I am Bhrigu the rebel, and I stamp my footprints on the bosom of God!
I shall kill the Creator and shall cleave the heart of capricious God, who smites with grief and anguish.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



I am Bhrigu the rebel and will stamp my footprints
on the bosom of God!
I will cleave the bosom of that capricious being
—God!
I am the courageous, rebel eternal
Alone, I tower over the universe with my head
unbowed.

Manik Banerjee shot into fame with his *Putul Nacher Itikatha* (The Dance of the Dolls). A fellow Leftist, Sukanta Bhattacharya, wrote stirring poems. But, by and large, "Leftist" writers, including Radicals, have not fared well in Bengali literature, largely because most of Bengal is rural and still basically untouched by "modern" ideas, and so conservative.

A group of writers, closely associated in the nineteen thirties and forties with now-defunct intellectual quarterly *Parichay* ("Introduction") was highly cultured, refined and sophisticated, consisting of men like Ajit Dutta, Sudhindra Nath Dutta, Bishnu De, Amiya Chakravarty. They wrote "modern" essays and poems. But, as Kazi Abdul Wadud says:[144]—"These moderns.....reveal, when assessed at their best, their affiliation not so much with Tagore or any other Bengali poet as with the present-day English and Continental poets with their egotism and bitterness and disdain for the sorry state of the world of today."

More to the Right of Centre, but of the same refined, sophisticated, *bhadralok* ("gentry") class, were the writers of the *Sanibarer Chithi* ("Saturday Letter") group, made famous by Sajani Kanta Das and Nirad Chaudhuri.

Surrealism breaks out in some of the writings of Buddhadev Bose, Achintya Sen Gupta and Samaresh Bose (1940's and afterwards). Samaresh Bose is preoccupied with sex and violence, and some people hold his writings to be obscene, as were Tagore's love poems one day, but it is extremely unlikely that Samaresh Bose would one day blossom into a Tagore. There are many writers of Discontent, capable, competent, good craftsmen, but without the gifts of faith, mercy or charity—and so, without also of the prospects of wide or lasting recognition.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



On the whole, therefore, "modern" Bengali literature is strongly Romantic, trying to escape into a freer world, although the Socio-Psychological and the Realo-Idealist sides are also well represented. It is not as Radical or Leftist as is generally alleged, largely because of the mainly rural character of West Bengal, and the clerical, near-Theocratic background of most of the city *bhadralok*, mainly concentrated in Calcutta. A good deal of the *bhadralok* Leftism is sincere, but is of an arm-chair variety, with just enough punch to somewhat neutralise the "capitalists", mostly non-Bengalis, and no more. It is also, to a fairly large extent, a hot-house plant, imported from abroad, and not arising from the native soil itself.

"Modern" Bengali literature served its apprenticeship at the feet of the Britannic Muse. Michael Madhusudan Dutt, we have seen in Chapter 25, first wrote a poem in English (*The Captive Ladie*), and modelled himself on Dante and Milton. Bankim's first attempt also was in English—a novel known as *Raj Mohan's Wife*. He derived a lot of inspiration from Sir Walter Scott and was known as the "Scott of Bengal". In his novel *Rajani* he acknowledges his debt to Bulwer Lytton and Wilkie Collins. The form and structure of Bankim's novels are contemporary Victorian English. The series pertaining to the opium-eater, *Kamala Kanta*, drew its inspiration, although only in the basic concept, from De Quiency. The poet Hem Chandra Banerjee translated *Romeo and Juliet* and *Tempest*. Jyotirindra Nath Tagore translated English and French dramas. Girish Ghosh adapted *Macbeth* for the Bengali stage. Rabindra Nath Tagore was deeply influenced by Keats, Shelley, Byron, Goethe, Maeterlinck etc. Even in recent times Buddha Dev Bose seems to have drawn inspiration from Aldous Huxley. And Bibhuti Bhushan Banerjee from Romain Rolland's *Jean Christophe*. Thus, the debt of modern Bengali literature to English literature and to translations of Continental European literature in English is immense.

*Assamese* :

"Modern" Assamese literature started on a Realo-Idealist strain, inspired by the Sibsagar Christian mission-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



aries. Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan (1824-96) and Hem Chandra Barua (1835-96) were social reformers and essayists. Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) was a journalist, dramatist, social reformer and biographer on "modern" lines. He was a Rationalist and advocated widow-remarriage. He befriended younger writers who looked upon his *Asam Bandhu* (started 1885) as a guide.

A group of Calcutta-educated Assamese started the literary magazine *Jonaki* ("Moonlight") in 1889, and round *Jonaki* grew up many romantic and romantic-reassertionist writers like Chandra Kumar Agarwala (1858-1938), Lakshmi Nath Bezbarua (1868-1938), Hem Chandra Goswami (1872-1928) and Padmanath Gohain Barua (1871-1946). The many-sided Lakshmi Nath Bezbarua wrote many poems—*Amar Janmabhumi, Mor Desa, Asam Sangit* etc. glorifying the Assamese past. In his drama *Chakradhvaja Sinha* he glorifies Lachit Barphukan, who successfully defied the Mughals in the 17th century. Ambikagiri Roy Chaudhuri wrote many stirring patriotic poems and Padmanath Gohain Barua many historical plays based on Ahom history. Indeed, all the authors of the *Jonaki* group were concerned with arousing national feelings, in composing tender lyrics, historical research, and the collection of folk songs and folk-tales. They were Romantics and Romantic-Reassertionists.

Following them were many romantic poets. Raghunath Chaudhary was obsessed with birds and flowers. Jatindra Nath Duara, the author of *Banaphul* ("Forest Flower") draws his vivid imageries from the river, boats and boatmen. He translated Omar Khayyam into Assamese (*Omartirtha*) and wrote prose-poems (*Kathakavita*). Dev Kanta Barua introduced Browning-type monologues into Assamese love-poetry.

On the Socio-Psychological as well as Realo-Idealistic side Lakshmi Nath Bezbarua towers above the rest. In his *Barbaruar Bhavar Burburani* (Barbaruar's Bubbles of Thought), modelled on Addison's *Essays* featuring Sir Roger de Coverley, he ridicules hollow pretensions and institutions. The poet Kamala Kanta Bhattacharyya wrote burningly, not only on nationalism, but also on the neces-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



sity of arousing democracy. Padmanath Gohain Barua in his *Gaoburah* (The Village Headman), gives a realistic picture of village life.

The Radicals are preoccupied with themes like class-conflict, sex relations, symbolism etc., expressing their ideas in the monthly *Ramdhanu* ("Rainbow").

Thus, Assamese literature has been basically Romantic, though Socio-Psychological and Realo-Idealistic themes are also well represented. The Radicals draw their inspiration from diverse foreign sources, like Marx, Freud, T. S. Eliot, and also from Bengali Radicals, rather than from their own experiences or from native soil.

*Oriya* :

In Oriya the foundations of modernism were laid by two Oriyas of Bengal descent—Gauri Shankar Roy, editor of *Utkal Deepika* for 40 years from 1866, and Radha Nath Roy ; and one of Maharashtrian descent, Madhusudan Rao, author of the book of patriotic lyrics, *Utkalagatha* ("Poems of Utkala"). Madhusudan saw God everywhere.

This Romantic mood changed to Realo-Idealist and Radical in the works of the many-sided Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843-1918), technician, craftsman (sail repairs), administrator, printer, publisher, journalist, chief minister of several Orissa States. His *Cha-mana Atha-guntha* ("Six *mans* and eight *gunthas* of land") (1901) is an epic, Radical novel, about peasant miseries and moral redemption. His *Mamoo* ("Maternal Uncle") and *Prayaschitta* ("Expiation") deal with the disintegration of old values and the old social structure as a result of the impact of "modern" civilization.

Nanda Kishore Bal, the poet, dipped into Oriya folk-lore. Many of the couplets and quatrains of the Sambalpur weaver, Gangadhar Meher, have passed into popular speech. (*Romantic/Realo-Idealist*).

Pandit Gopabandhu Das (1877-1928) was a Nationalist-Romantic, a believer in the Vedas. He and his followers wrote in the monthly *Satyabadi* ("Truthful") and weekly *Samaj* ("Society"). The *Satyabadi* group was succeeded by the *Sabuja* ("Green") group, with its magazine, *Yuga*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Bina* ("The Harp of the Epoch"), between the two World Wars. The most famous author of this group is the Radical Kalindi Charan Panigrahi, with his famous novel, *Matira Manisha* ("Man of the Soil"). The poets, Sachikanta Rout Ray and Ananta Patnaik are also Radical.

Thus, Oriya literature, in the great tradition of Fakir Mohan Senapati, has been basically Radical, perhaps due to the great contrast between its rich princelings and the millions of poor, exploited people, without much of a middle class in between.

*Hindi/Maithili* :

There are two broad divisions of the Hindi language—Western and Eastern, which according to most authorities, for instance Professor Thomas Burrow of Oxford,[145] "differ as much from each other as any other two neighbouring Indo-Aryan vernaculars, are really two distinct languages." Thus, the Middle Country or *Madhya Desha* had many languages—Braja-bhasha (Agra-Mathura area) Khari Boli (Delhi-Rohilkhand area), Awadhi (Lucknow area), Bundelkhandi (Southern Uttar Pradesh), Bhojpuri (Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar) etc., each with its folk songs and legends and also some with literatures, like Surdas in Braja-Bhasha, Goswami Tulsidas in Awadhi, Bhushan in Bundelkhandi etc. We have seen in Chapter 25 that the Serampore missionaries and the Fort William authorities patronised the creation of Hindi prose towards the end of the 18th century. Lallu Lal wrote his *Prem Sagar* using the Khari Boli ("standing speech") of the Delhi-Rohilkhand region, and his language differed from Urdu only by the elimination of Arabic or Persian and substitution of Khari Boli or Sanskrit words. But this Literary Hindi took time to catch on. In the whole of the nineteenth century it did not develop much partly because it had an inferiority complex vis-a-vis the powerful Urdu and Persian used in the Delhi and Lucknow Courts, and partly because it was relatively far away from the influence of the vigorous English language, which irradiated Bengali. It continued to convert Magahi and Maithili, two Eastern group languages (and hence nearer to Bengali, Oriya and Assamese) to its ways.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


Bengalis at this stage were enthusiastic about the creation of a Literary Hindi language and literature, and there was some response from the *Madhya Desha*. Bharatendu ("Moon of India") Harish Chandra (1846-84) of Benares was the foremost in the field. His Hindi was modelled on Bengali, which was modelled on Sanskrit. He also translated some Bengali works. Bengalis like Tarini Charan Mitra, Nabin Chandra Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Bhudev Mukherjee and others fought for Hindi, some conceiving of it as a future Pan-Indian language. Indeed, Keshab Sen brought out his well-known *Sulabh Samachar* ("Inexpensive News") in 1876 in Hindi. But the greatest fillip to this nascent Literary Hindi was given by the vigorous writings and preachings, in this language, of the Gujarati, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj (1879). The *Nagari Pracharini Sabha* (Society for the spread of the Nagari alphabet), founded in 1893, did yeoman's work in propagating Sanskritised *Khari Boli* Hindi (the Persianised and Arabicized form of it being Urdu). And Balmukand Gupta of Rohtak (1865-1907), with his associates, Amritlal Chakravarti, a Bengali, and Prabhu Dayal Pandey of Mathura, brought Sanskritised Hindi to the literate people with their Hindi edition of the Bengali weekly of Calcutta, *Bangabashi* ("Inhabitants of Bengal"). Thus Hindi grew up tied to the apron strings of Bengali, as has been generously admitted by the prominent Hindi man of letters, S. H. Vatsyayan ("Agyeya").[146]

The Romantic school of modern Hindi poetry, known as *Chhayavad* ("Shadowism"), roughly from between 1920 and 1935, was much influenced by Bengali poetry. The *Chhayavad* period was coterminous with the Gandhian movements, with the spread of "English education" in the Hindi-speaking areas, with increasing modernization and industrialisation there. The Theo-Aristocratic base was very strong in the *Madhya Desha* ("Middle Country"), but it was being shaken by the new winds of change. It took refuge in romantic, mystic escapism, looking alike to Kabir and Surdas, Vidyapati, Tagore and West European poets. Maithili Sharan Gupta, Jaya Shankar Prasad, Surya

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Kant Tripathi Nirala, Sumitra Nandan Pant and Mahadevi Varma are the chief exponents of *Chhayavad.* Maithili Sharan was a staunch Hindu, and his *Bharat-Bharati,* singing of the ancient glories of India in a romantic strain, is the counterpart of Hali's *Musaddas.* But he was unconventional also. In his *Saket* the heroine is Urmila, not Seeta, a departure from the Theo-Aristocratic norm. Similarly, in *Yashodhara,* Buddha's wife speaks out, asking why did he leave her stealthily by night, and if he had asked her, would she have stood in the way?

Maithili Sharan may have well got such somewhat of an unconventional approach from Bengali literature—he knew Bengali well, and translated the unorthodox Michael Madhu Sudan Datta's *Meghnad-Vadh-Kavya* ("Lay of the Death of Meghnad") into Hindi.

Jaya Shankar Prasad's *Kamayani* is an epic philosophic poem. Jaya Shankar says—Man's Life is not Reason, it is mainly Faith (a Theocratic view). He wrote many historical plays, evoking romantic nationalism, like *Ajatasatru, Skanda Gupta, Chandra Gupta* and *Rajyashree.* The action is slow, there are long-winded speeches, but the proper environment is successfully evoked and there is fine characterisation.

Surya Kant Tripathi ("Nirala") was born in Bengal and brought up there. He was much influenced by Bengali literature, specially Tagore, and introduced many Tagorean metres into Hindi. For his innovations Nirala had to face severe criticism one day. Nirala's outlook is Pantheistic.

Sumitra Nandan Pant began as a mystic, later became a socialist, and then came back to the mystic fold. His poems are full of the sweetness of Braja Bhasha.

Mahadevi Varma is probably the only *Chhayavad* writer free from Bengali influence as she does not know this language. She has been inspired by Old Hindi and Sanskrit literatures.

Among other Romantic poets are "Bachhan" (Harivansha Rai), Balkrishna Sharma "Naveen", Balakrishna Rao, Shivamangal Singh "Suman", Girija Kumar Mathur and Siyaramsharan Gupta.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Among Romantic-Nationalist poets may be mentioned Makhan Lal Chaturvedi, Bal Krishna Sharma, Subhadra Kumari Chauhan and Ramdhari Singh "Dinkar". Dinkar uses mythological tales in the modern context, and now and then pens exhortations in the idiom of everyday speech.

Prem Chand (Dhanpat Rai), writing in the first half of the twentieth century, was the most famous of Hindi Socio-Psychological writers. By profession he was a minor civil servant. He first wrote in Urdu, and then switched over to Hindi, which in his case is still strongly influenced by Urdu. Some of his "Hindi" works are really Hindi versions of his earlier Urdu creations. Thus *Seva Sadan* (House of Service) was originally *Hamkhurma wa Hamsayab*. In this book he rails against prostitution, but can find a solution only in a home for the unfortunate women. In *Prem Ashram,* (Love Retreat) he deals with the cruel brutalities of *zamindars* on peasant and the ineffectiveness of non-violence against such oppression, but cannot find a satisfactory answer. In *Rang Bhumi* (Play Field) he weaves his plot round the 1920-21 Non-Cooperation Movement of Mahatma Gandhi. Prem Chand says that capitalists and princes are exploiters, murderers, who use other men as animals, by the side of whom the *satyagrahis* of the Congress shine like angels. His *Karma Bhumi* (Field of Action) centres round the Mahatma's 1930-32 Civil Disobedience Movement. His *Godan* is a tragic tale of exploitation of peasants. According to some his short stories are even better than his novels. But in the end this Gorki of Hindi literature, as he has been called, concedes defeat against the forces of Theocracy. In *Kayakalpa* (a *yogic* rejuvenation therapy) he becomes an escapist, and takes refuge in the theory of reincarnation. The Theocratic environment had proved too strong.

Among other Socio-Psychological writers are Vishwambhar Nath Sharma ("Kaushik"), Jainendra Kumar and Bhagavati Charan Varma. The two former are feminists, but find no way out for the low social position of women —nor indeed are they thorough about it. Thus, in Jainendra Kumar's *Subhada* the strong revolutionary woman

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ends in being just a tame beloved one. Evidently Jainendra Kumar, like Bankim Chatterjee, thinks that a woman's place is in the home. Bhagavati Charan Varma in *Terhe Merhe Rasta* ("Your Road, My Road") deals with a father and three sons—the father is a conservative aristocratic *talukdar,* one son is a Gandhist, another a Communist, and the third a Terrorist. Varma obviously favours the Gandhian way, disliking the Communist and considering the terrorist as a mere romantic.

Jaya Shankar Prasad is a Realo-Idealist in his novels like *Kankal* and *Titli,* advocating social reform. Ramachandra Tewari's *Sagar Sarita aur Akal* (Ocean, River and Famine) and Amrit Lal Nagar's *Mahakal* ("Great Famine"), deal with the Bengal famine of 1943. Nagar is full of gloom, but Tewari believes in man's powers of reconstruction. Nagarjun's *Balachnama* gives a vigorous presentation of peasant life in North Bihar. S. H. Vatsyayan ("Agyeya") is a Realo-Idealist in his novel, *Shekhar : Ek Jeevani* (Shekhar : a Life).

The Radical movement against *Chhayavad,* known as *Pragativad* ("Progressivism"), started roughly from 1934-35, against the background of the birth of the Congress Socialist Party, the spread of the ideas of Marx, Lenin, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Freud, Adler and Jung, and the secret activities of the Communist Party of India. It started with Bhagwati Charan Varma's poem *Bhains Garhi* ("Buffalo Cart"). Sumitra Nandan Pant became a Radical although his earlier poems were romantic Radicalism, with Marxist overtones, is seen in *Ganjan* ("Murmuring"), *Yuganta* ("End of an Age"), *Yugavani* ("The message of the age") and *Gramya* ("Village Woman"). But he was too full of Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi to be tied to the class war theme for long. In 1944 he returned to *Chhayavad.*

Yashpal, the Radical prose-writer, is frankly Marxist. Among his novels are *Dada Comrade* (Comrade Elder Brother), *Party Comrade, Deshdrohi* (Traitor) and *Manushya ke rup* (The Nature of Man). The Leftist historian-philosopher Rahul Sankrityayana's many historical novels are Radical-cum-Romantic. A Communist, he traces the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



evolution of Indian civilization, from the earliest to the latest stage, in a series of stories in *Volga se Ganga* ("From the Volga to Ganga"). Marxism is here subtly coloured, however, with the Pan-Aryan theme—it appears that the Indian Aryans were originally South Russians! Other books like *Simha Senapati* (Bihar in Buddhist times), *Jai Yaudheya* (the Yaudheya tribe in Gupta times) etc. evoke the periods in question with accuracy and vigour, the Marxist-Romantic mix being absorbingly new and different. Greatness stamps the writings of Rahul, but in a prevailingly Near-Theocratic milieu his fame so far has been muted.

A group of cultivated urban writers, the counterpart of the Bengali *Parichay Sanibarer Chithi* groups and the Assamese *Ramdhanu* group, have been influenced by Marx, Freud, Marcel Proust, Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, James Joyce, Sartre etc. This assorted medley of inspiration has made these writers Surrealists and Symbolists breathing a hot-house atmosphere. To this category belongs the Symbolist poets like Girija Kumar Mathur, Gajanan Muktibodh, Nemai Chandra Jain, Prabhakar Machwe etc. They are experimenters with rhyme and verse. To them life is hard, full of contradictions, disharmonious, meaningless, and so should be poetry.

Ila Chandra Joshi and Vatsyayan ("Agyeya") are Surrealists. Ila Chandra Joshi is a straight Freudian. Bhagavati Prasad Bajpeyi is obsessed with sex in novels like *Prem-Path* (The Way of Love) and *Pipasa* (Thirst). The awakening of sex-consciousness in women is his special forte. Women writers like Krishna Sobti also now write openly on sex. Pandey Bechan Sharma ("Ugra"—Angry) is also a Surrealist, borrowing heavily from D. H. Lawrence. Upendra Nath Ashk uses a lot of Marx and Freud, as for instance in his *Girti Deewaren* ("Falling Walls"), describing the life of a lower middle class Punjabi family.

Maithili at one time was the favourite elder sister, *didi*, of Bengali. It was Maithili which brought up Bengali by the hand in the 14th-15th centuries. But inland Mithila was neglected by the foreign Scientific-Democratic

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



people and Mithila and Maithili did not progress. Maithili is being progressively Hindi-ized, as Magahi has been. The greatest Maithili writer of modern times is the Socio-Psychological Hari Mohan Jha. In *Kanyadan* (Betrothal of the Daughter), a light humorous book, he advocates teaching English to girls. *Dviragaman* (An untranslatable title—Going to a Second Woman) deals with the conflict between the old and the new.

Thus, Hindi is well-represented on all the sides—Romantic/Romantic-National /Socio-Psychological /Realo-Idealist/Radical/Surrealist. Surrealism is quite strong, indicating impotent rage at inability to bring about change. Ideas of change have come through Bengali, and also directly from English, but the Theo-Aristocratic base is stronger in the Heartland Hindi area than in Bengal and the West Coast, where the foreign Rational Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic civilizations came with sufficient strength to effect some changes. In the Heartland this was less, and this resulted in the confusion and the waverings which we find, for instance, in Pant with his swings to and fro between *Chhayavad* and *Pragativad,* and Prem Chand Himself, in his return to the idea of reincarnation to explain Life's ills and injustices.

*Urdu* :

The Urdu response to the Scientific-Democrats was virile and strong, as becomes the proud Muslim-Indians, confident of their culture. The Urdu speakers had been late in appropriating ideas from foreigners. Hali and Azad were Realo-Idealists. As pointed out in Chapter 25 Hali was a man of wide sympathies. He invented a new verse form, the *nazm.* He was a humanist, and his passionate love for the Muslim community did not exclude others. He was a great feminist. Muhammad Husain Azad (1834-1910) was a critic in the modern manner, and through his *mushairas* (poetical assemblies) at Lahore and elsewhere gave a great fillip to the development of Urdu poetry in the last years of the 19th century. Nazir Ahmad (1836-1912) wrote socio-psychological novels. Ratan Nath Sarshar (1846-1902) of Lucknow, a Kashmiri Brahman,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



was a great story-teller, and his *Fasana-i-Azad* ("Romance of Azad") (1880), a socio-psychological novel, is a Dickensian epic. Akbar Allahabadi (1846-1921) was a satirical verse-writer, full of Discontent at the invasion of foreign ideas and practices. Going completely off the tangent this *Lisan-ul-Asr* ("The Tongue of the Age") asked (pointlessly) :—

> What though thou wearest coat and trousers,
> Livest in a Bungalow, hast soap and articles of
> Western toilet ?
>
> Let me just ask thee this question, O man of Hind,
> Hast thou in thy veins perchance a drop of
> European blood ?

The Romantic-cum-Realo-Idealist Iqbal, with his *Tarana-e-Hindi* and *Naya Shivalay* has already been dealt with. Other Realo-Idealists will be mentioned later.

On the Romantic side the traditions of the *ghazal,* of grapes, wine, *bulbul, saqi* etc. continued in the twentieth century. There have been Romantic poets galore—Shahd Azeemabadi, Riaz, Arzoo, Yas-o-Yogana, Hasrat Mohani, Fani, Asghar, Jigar, Faiz, Firaq, Jazbi, Arsh Malirani etc. Of the Romantic Nationalists may be mentioned Brij Narain Chakbast (1882-1926) and Josh Malihabadi. Chakbast, a follower of Annie Besant, wrote many *marsiyas* on Gokhale, Tilak, various aspects of nationalism etc. Josh, a fiery nationalist poet, participated in political and economic movements from the First World War days.

Among Socio-Psychological books may be mentioned the famous *Umrao Jan Ada,* the autobiography of a cultured Lucknow dancing girl, written by Mirza Hadi Rushwa (1857-1931), and recently translated into English, both vigorous and subtle, by Khushwant Singh. Prem Chand originally wrote in Urdu, as has been mentioned. Upendra Nath Ashk (an Urdu as well as Hindi writer) has inherited Prem Chand's broad humanism. Rajinder Singh Bedi writes about the life of middle class people and villagers. Balwant Singh Gargi has written about the Sikhs. Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi is a realist and emphasiser of human values. Ismat Chughtai has written about

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Muslim middle-class families, especially in relation to sexual feelings.

From the 1930's there have been a galaxy of brilliant Radical poets—Josh Malihabadi/Muhammad Hasan Askari /Miraji/Ahmed Ali /Sajjad Zaheer/Faiz Ahmad Faiz /Krishnan Chander/Ali Sardar Jafri/Khwaja Ahmad Abbas/Firaq Gorakhpuri/Sagar Nizami /Qazi Abdul Ghaffar/ Upendra Nath Ashk/Hafeez Jullunduri etc. All are full of strong idealism, humanism, and a desire to experiment with metre and rhyme. They invented Urdu blank verse, and Urdu prose poetry—*Azad nazm.* Qaifi Azmi and Makhdum Muhiuddin are "People's poets".

Among Radical prose writers may be mentioned Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, Krishan Chander and Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, a descendant of Hali. Both Krishan Chander and Abbas are against the capitalist order of society.

Among Surrealists may be placed Ismat Chughtai, and another brilliant woman, Qurrat-ul-Ain Haider, who employs James Joyce's stream of consciousness technique. Their surrealism is indicative of the helplessness of two outstanding women in a restrictive milieu, where even *purdah* (the veil) has not still disappeared.

All in all the Urdu response has been vigorous and manly. Realo-Idealism and Radicalism prevail, with a strong dash of Romanticism, and Socio-Psychological analysis is not absent. The writers of Urdu come from many areas and from different religions—Muslim, Sikh and Hindu. As in the case of Bengali, extra-Indian authors have been left out from the present treatment.

*Kashmiri* :

The well-known Kashmiri writers can all be said to belong to the Radical group, thus indicating the overall poverty of people of this lovely vale and their hold on their literary circles. However, the enchanting beauty of Kashmir comes out well in many of the poems of modern Kashmiri writers, no matter how involved they are with the theme of social justice. The standard-bearer of these Radical writers is Pirzada Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor (b. 1885). Mahjoor reoriented the conventional symbols

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of the *gul* and the *bulbul* (the rose and the nightingale), and of the *bambar* and the *yambarzal* (the bee and the narcissus) to serve the needs of the people. He fought feudal aristocracy.

Zinda Kaul (b. 1884), known as "Masterji", is a social reformer, and also a Radical. He has experimented with new metres and rhyme schemes in Kashmiri. His "Ferryman, lead thou one across" speaks of the "other side", in Time, as a "classless society of ideal human beings, where domestic, communal, national and international life is harmoniously integrated."

Dina Nath Nadim is another Radical writer. He introduced the sonnet into Kashmiri, and in his song-drama, *Bambar Yambarzal,* treats an old theme in a new way to solve modern problems. His feelings for the sufferings masses are expressed forcefully. To his group belongs several Radical poets like Nur Muhammad Roshan, Rahman Rahi, Premi etc.

*Punjabi* :

The most well-known writer in the Romantic genre in Punjabi today is Amrita Pritam. According to Khushwant Singh[148] :—"there is a soft refrain of the folk-lore and ballad in most of her writings." She jumped to fame in 1947-48, when in spite of the horrors of the partition of the Punjab, rising above Hindu-Muslim differences, she invoked Warris Shah, the popular 18th century author of the epic *Heer Ranjha,* in the following words :—

O comforter of the sorrowing,
rise and see thy Punjab,
Its fields are strewn with corpses,
blood runs in the Chenab,
Our five rivers are poisoned by the same hand
That uses the poisoned water to irrigate the land.

Among Socio-Psychological authors may be mentioned Dhani Ram "Chatrik", Nanak Singh and I. C. Nanda. Nanak Singh is a novelist and short-story writer full of sympathy for the poor and the downtrodden.

Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957) is the greatest of Punjabi Realo-Idealist writers. His most popular verses were in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the form of *rubaiyat,* or quartrain. Khushwant Singh says :[149]—"In these he expressed his philosophy and mysticism, where the love of God and of human beings, the spiritual and the sensual, moral and divine, moved in a colourful kaleidoscope, beautiful and baffling."

Bhai Puran Singh (1882-1932), humanist and nature-lover, is a worthy fellow-poet.

Sant Singh Sekhon writes short stories about villagers, peasants and workers. His outlook is somewhat revolutionary.

Kartar Singh Duggal, another novelist and short-story writer, also a Realo-Idealist, uses the Rawalpindi dialect while Kulwant Singh Virk uses the Lahore dialect.

Sujan Singh, another Realo-Idealist writer, lived in Bengal for some time, and some of his stories have a background of that province. Thus, the hero and heroine of his Jeevan-Leela are Bengalis.

Mohan Singh is the most prominent of the Radical writers. A one-time Marxist, he is the champion of the underdog, exhorting people continuously to activity.

Gurbaksh Singh began as an engineer and went to the United States. On return he decided to propagate "modernism", started a monthly magazine *Preet Lari,* and set up a community centre on the Indo-Pakistan border by the name of Preet Nagar, which became a centre of academic activity. He is an essayist and story writer. His son, Navtej Singh, is also a Leftist writer, and like his father a propagator of Radical ideas. Another Radical writer, of plays, is Balwant Singh Gargi.

Gurbaksh Singh was influenced by Freud in his earliest writing, and was, to some extent, a surrealist, from which stance he recovered. Preetam Singh Safir and Kartar Singh Duggal also have Freudian, Surrealist overtones in their writings.

Punjabi writing is mainly Sikh writing, and as may be expected, the writing of this hard-working, egalitarian people is largely Realo-Idealistic or Radical, with a no-nonsense quality about it. Still, the social restraints generate some surrealism, the inspiration for which has largely come from Freud's sexual theories.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Sindhi* :

Urdu, Persian etc. were the culture-languages of Sindh for a long time. The vogue for Sindhi started only with the foundation of the "Singhi Sahit Society" by Lal Chand Jagtiani and Jethmal Parasram in 1914. But in the 19th century there had been a Romantic writer in Sindhi, Kalich Beg Mirza. His dramas and poems are suffused with Sufi love of humanity.

The peasants of Sindh are poor and, therefore, it is not surprising that the popular pre-1947 writers, and their spiritual successors, were Radicals or Communists, like Kishinchand and Haidar Bux Jatoi. Kishinchand's *Gharibon-jhi-jhupri* (The peasant's hut) and *Lark* (Tears) are well-known, as is Jatoi's minor epic on the Indus—*Darya Shah.* But the refugees to India were comparatively affluent, and hence Sindhi writing in India is largely Socio-Psychological, an outstanding Realo-Idealist exception being Guli Sadarangani.

Of the Socio-Psychological writers may be mentioned Lekhraj Aziz; Bherumal, who in his *Mohini Bai* gives a realistic picture of Sindhi domestic life; Lal Chand; Govind 'Malhi'; Ram Panjwani, etc. Panjwani writes about the life of an artist in *Qaidi* (Prisoner) and of a widow in *Vidhowa.*

Guli Sadarangani, a Realo-Idealist, portrays in her *Ittehad* the love of a Muslim youth and a Hindu young woman. For this she had to face strong criticism and revilement. An index of her wide perspective and outlook is that she translated Tagore's *Gora* into Sindhi.

*Gujarati :*

The Gujarati elite were the merchants, much more than the princes. As traders they were not particularly interested at first in introducing foreign ideas into their thought system. But these ideas were too strong and could not be resisted. Alexander Kinloch Forbes encouraged the creation of a modern Gujarati literature and to effect this established the Gujarat Vernacular Society at Ahmadabad in 1848. At his request Dalpat Ram (1820-98) took up the work of this society. Dalpat Ram was a

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Realo-Idealist poet who supported the remarriage of widows and other social reform measures. He also urged strongly the revival of Indian industries, a theme well-becoming a member of a commercial elite. Narmad Shankar (1833-86), also a Realo-Idealist, exposed the vicious practices of religious leaders. At the same time he wrote romantic poems on love, nature, the glory of the human personality and patriotism. Gujarati pride of the past was enhanced by two Romantic-Historical novels (Reassertionist)—*Karan Ghelo* of Nanda Shankar Tulja Shankar (1866); and *Vanaraj Chavdo* of Mahipat-Ram Rup-Ram Nilkantha.

Thus we have a Realo-Idealist/Socio-Psychological/Romantic Reassertion mix which came to fruition in the giant novel *Saraswati Chandra* (1887-1901) of Govardhan Ram Tripathi (1855-1907), a lawyer by profession. In this book all the burning questions of the day—political, social, and cultural, are discussed. The "medieval-modern" mix is seen in the juxtaposition of the ideas of Bana and Wordsworth, Magha and Bulwer Lytton; and in the fact that while Govardhan Ram lashes out vigorously against 'feudal' misrule, intrigue and inefficiency, he also believes in reincarnation and in women being faithful to their husbands, no matter how erring and vicious.

In the twentieth century, among Romantics we have the poet Narsingh Rao Divetia; Balwant Rai Thakkore, who introduced the sonnet into Gujarati; and Nanalal, the first to write prose-poems, *apadya gadya,* in Gujarati. K. M. Munshi wrote several powerful historical novels, Romantic-Reassertionist in nature, like *Prithivi Vallabha, Jaya Somnath* etc.

K. M. Munshi is also the best-known Socio-Psychological novelist. In his *Swapnadrishta* he gives a vivid picture of Gujarat under the spell of the Congress movement in the early 20th century. Among Socio-Psychological dramatists are Jayanti Dalal and Chandravadan Mehta.

Among the Realo-Idealists are three Gandhian poets—Umashankar Joshi, Jhaverchand Meghani, and "Sundaram". Uma Shankar sees *satyagraha* as the germ of world brotherhood and world peace. Jhaverchand's *Saurashtrani Rasadhara* delves deep into the folk-culture of Sau-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


rashtra. He translated several of Tagore's poems and novels into Gujarati.

Of Realo-Idealist prose-writers may be mentioned Pannalal Patel, of peasant origin; and Ishvar Petlikar, who writes of the *patidars* of Charotar.

A particular genre of Realo-Idealist literature in Gujarati is Gandhiana, lives and diaries of the Mahatma and of his comrades. The Mahatma himself was a clear, forceful writer in Gujarati, churning out innumerable articles, notes and letters, as well as his autobiography. He founded the Gujarat Vidyapith at Ahmadabad, whose members, like Mahadev Desai, Kishorilal Mashruwala etc. did a lot for Gujarati language and literature. Of reminiscences of the Mahatma the most outstanding is said to be Prabhudas Gandhi's *Jeevanmun Parodh;* and of diaries, *Mahadevbhai-ni-Diary* of the Mahatma's secretary, Mahadev Desai. To this genre also belongs *Sardar Vallabhbhai* by Narhari Parikh and *Thakkar Bapa* by Kantilal Shah.

*Marathi:*

The Marathi-speaking people were a near-Imperial one. The economy was land-based, the big traders and industrialists in Bombay and elsewhere being largely Gujaratis and Parsees. The soil was hard, the peasants thrifty, tough and hard-working. So were the Marathi-speaking Brahmans and other members of the elite like the Chandrasreniya Kayastha Prabhus, all of whom kept up a close relationship with the land and the peasants. Hard-thinking, they were basically realists, but they also developed that adroitness and subtlety of intellect which has made the Maharashtrian Brahman, and especially those of Poona, famous in the sub-continent.

The Marathi psycho-intellectual matrix was, therefore, basically Theo-Aristocratic, with fond memories of the glories of the recent past. But a vigorous intellect responded successfully to Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic challenges.

The hero-ballads, the *powadas,* had prepared the field and the seeds of sub-nationalism had only to be sown to

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



sprout quickly. Allied with this there was religious revivalism. Tilak's *Keshari* aroused feelings of fiery nationalism. Hari Narayan Apte (1864-1919) wrote, among many other things, historical novels in the Bankim Chatterjee style, like *Ushakal* ('Dawn'—a historical novel of Shivaji's time), *Keval Svarajya Sathi* ('Freedom the only companion), *Gadha ala, pan Simha gela* ('The fort was won, but the hero died) etc. Vishnu-shastri Krishna Chiplunkar's essays, in the 1870's and 1880's, "had, for long, a near-sacred quality for the revivalist."[150]

On the Radical side Baba Pudmanji's *Yamuna-Paryatan* (1857), dealing with social reform, is the first Radical novel in any Indian language. Gopal Hari Deshmukh (of the paper *Lokahitawadi*—'For the Benefit of the People') and Jyotirao Phule wrote scathingly on social evils. The poet, Krishnaji Keshav Dambe (1866-1905), known as Keshavsut, was a Radical. Poetry for him had an agitational role, to denounce the "many corruptions in our life". Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, a radical reformer, opposed Tilak and Chiplunkar in his *Sudharak*. Hari Narayan Apte, "the Prince of Novelists", wrote Socio-Psychological novels, besides Romantic-Historical ones. He was particularly concerned with the sufferings of women, specially of widows in Hindu society, and of young wives in joint families. The poet Vinayak Janardan Karandikar (1872-1909) may be taken as an archetype of the Split Personality, wrestling between a Theo-Aristocratic, Near-Theocratic Morality and a Scientific-Democratic Hedonism. The tension was too much and he found escape in drawing melodramatic pictures of past glory.

Thus, there were two strains—the progressive, as symbolised by an Agarkar or a Keshavsut, and the Reassertionist, as represented by a Tilak or a Chiplunkar. The Marathi intellectual was generally a salaried official or teacher, or at most a professional man, in a basically Theo-Aristocratic milieu. So his hard-headed realism could ultimately find expression, if he stuck to progress, only in a sort of native Fabianism. Where his radical views were stronger this collided with a resistant Theo-Aristocratic matrix, leading to a break-up of personality, as in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the case of Vinayak Karandikar, and later of poets like Ram Ganesh Gadkari ("Govindagraj") and the tender lyricist, Balkavi. Gadkari pokes fun at society in his satirical sketches but he accepts it in his melodramas for the stage.

Romantic-Nationalism continued strongly in the 20th century. K. P. Khadikar, in his *Keechak Vadha* (1910), portrayed Tilak as Bheema and Curzon as Keechak. V. D. Savarkar wrote a powerful work, *Kale Pani* ("Black Waters"), on his 25 years penal servitude in the Andaman Islands for anti-British activities. Bhargav Vithal Warerkar, famous as Mama Warerkar, started in 1907 with mythological plays, which in India was a symbol of reassertion. Of the poets of the naturalist *Ravi Kiran Mandal* ("Sun's Rays Group"), in the nineteen twenties and thirties, two wrote fiery nationalist plays—Y. D. Pendharkar ('Yashwant') and V. V. Shirwadkar ('Kusumagraj'). Says Yashwant in his fiery *Ajinkya Bharat-Khanda* ("Unconquerable India") :—

Unconquerable India
Our unconquerable India
Against the terrible flood of foreign attacks
We will bend like grass
But with every opportunity we
Will raise our heads again,
We will revolt.
Our unconquerable India.

The *Ravi Kiran Mandal* also tried to find a way out from the progressive-reassertionist tussle, but they could only mix their romanticism with socio-psychological probings. Bhaskar Ramchandra Tambe was a famous romantic poet, his compositions having a song-like quality. The many-sided Keshavsut's legacy split into two—Narayan Murlidhar Gupte ("Bee"), protesting passionately against the social and literary tyranny of the conformist; and Chandra Shekhar writing romantic poetry in a purely formal way. Anant Kanekar in his *Chandrat* (1933) tried to fuse the two opposing strains—moonlight and the factory chimney, as the Scientific-Democratic Age demands. With

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the Second World War a "New Poetry", more socio-psychological than romantic, came into existence, precise in imagery, springing from living experience, borrowing from science. The harbingers of this "New Poetry" were B. S. Mardhekar and P. S. Rege.

There is a great *embarrassement de richesse* so far as socio-psychological prose-writing goes. V. M. Joshi probed into the minds of educated women. N. S. Phadke and V. S. Khandekar won fame as socio-psychological novelists. There were many translations from the Bengali of Sarat Chatterjee, largely by Mama Warerkar. There have been many women socio-psychological novelists like Vibhavari Shirurkar (Malati Bedekar), Muktabai Dixit ("Krishnabai") and others, writing about women in different strata of society. R. V. Dighe wrote about the aborigines of the Sahyadri. Sane Guruji mixed his novels with didactic politics. Later came S. N. Pendse, with his novels about the Konkan, capturing the conflict lying below the placid upper surface. B. B. Borkar wrote about Goa. B. S. Mardhekar introduced the "Stream of Consciousness" technique into Marathi. The many dramas of P. K. Atre are socio-psychological in nature, as are the autobiographies of the two learned ladies, Irawati Karve (anthropologist and archaeologist) and Durga Bhagwat (folk-lorist).

Of Realo-Idealists one may mention N. S. Phadke.

G. T. Madholkar is a Radical. So is P. Y. Deshpande, who abjures old standards and conventions (e.g. *Bandhana Palikarhe*—'Beyond all Restraint'), and like Phadke and Madholkar looks to the morals of the future. The novelist and dramatist Mama Warerkar (Bhargav Vithal Warerkar), has written Radical plays, like *Sona cha kalas* ('The Vase of Gold') and *Satte-che-Gulam* ('Slaves of Capitalistic Power'), where he lashes out at capitalism.

Thus the contradictions of the Marathi-speaking elite class have forced it mainly to Socio-Psychological creations in literature, largely abjuring the earlier Radicalism and Realo-Idealism. This can really come now from among the workers and peasants themselves, as in the poems of Narayan Surve, the Chinchpokli working-class poet.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Telugu:*

The Telugu language area came very little in contact with Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic men from abroad. As a result "modern" literature developed late. This was particularly true of Telengana, which formed a part of the Nizam's dominions.

In the 19th century the two great names were those of Vireshalingam Pantulu (1848-1919), a Brahmo from Rajahmundry; and of his contemporary, Chilakamurti Lakshmi Narasimham, the 'blind bard of Andhra Desha', 'the Milton of Andhra'. Vireshalingam was a many sided literary genius and social reformer, living up to his Brahmo faith. He was a Realo-Idealist. He translated Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* and wrote the first novel in Telugu, *Rajashekhara Charitram.* Lakshmi Narasimham wrote many dramas and novels, Romantic, Historic-Romantic and Socio-Psychological.

A good deal of stimulus diffusion came from Bengali in the early 20th century and as Ramakotiswara Rau says,[151] the works of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Tagore etc. were translated and they gave much inspiration. The formation of the literary *Sahiti Samiti* in 1921 gave a fillip to the development of modern Telugu literature.

The Andhra people have a glorious tradition of songs for all occasions—*patulus,* and hence poetry got a great stimulus from English and Bengali. It was chiefly Romantic. Platonic love, for instance, is the theme of Rajaprolu Subba Rao, partly educated at Tagore's Shanti Niketan, as it is of Abburi Ramakrishna Rao. Other eminent song writers were Basavaraju Appa, Nanduri Subba Rao, Adivi Bapiraju, and the towering figure in Telugu literature, Vishwanatha Satyanarayana. Nori Narasimha Sastri in his novels *Narayana Bhattu* and *Rudrama Devi,* glorified the Andhra past, of the East Chalukyan and Kakatiya times.

With the nineteen thirties the mood changed. The world-wide economic depression affected Andhra Desha particularly as Telugu labourers had close links with South East Asia, and on their labours depended the wealth of the literature-creating elite class, largely Brahman. These

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



now turned Radical, for instance Srirangam Srinivasa Rao ("Sri Sri"). Sri Sri hailed Soviet Russia. In his poem *Jagannathuni Ratha Chakralu* (The Wheel of Jagannath) he looks upon capitalism as Juggernaut driving rough-shod over the semi-naked, starving bodies of the poor. Following ready-made Western models the Radicals also brought in sex and surrealism, although it is somewhat muted in the prevailingly rural, Theo-Aristocratic atmosphere. Thus, in the writings of Palagummi Padmaraju, Gudipati Venkatachalam, S. V. Subba Rao ('Buchi Babu') etc.

But with the end of the depression the Theo-Aristocrats, Near-Theocrats really, reasserted themselves in the basically agricultural area that is Andhra Desh. Romanticism came back to the forefront. Thus, Buchi Sundararama Sastri is a poet of devotion (*Panchavati*). Vishwanatha Satyanarayana wrote an epic with the Rama story in the background. Dasaradhi dreamt of a *Vishal Andhra* ("Greater Andhra").

But the Radical-Surrealist interlude had at least effected some questioning, and this exhibits itself in Socio-Psychological novels, for instance in those of Chinta Dikshitulu and Mani-Manikyam Narasimha Rao.

Creative writing in Andhra Desha has been so far largely restricted to these elite classes which have a literary background, i.e., chiefly Brahmans. Urbanisation is comparatively weak. Hence Romanticism, including Romantic-Historicism, has been the prevailing mood.

*Tamil*:

The Tamil intellectual elite, overwhelmingly Brahman, had concentrated for centuries on Sanskritic studies and did not care to cultivate Tamil too much. The Tamil Academy—*Tamizh Valarchi Kazhagam*—was founded as late as 1947. English influence was somewhat limited as compared to Bengal and Bombay as the foreigners were mainly officials, rather scattered, and the Tamil Brahman, strictly vegetarian and teetotal, aloof and segregated in his social life, preferred to stick exclusively to his caste-fellows. Nevertheless, a large professional class grew up

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



in Madras and in other towns, clerks, teachers, lawyers, doctors etc. The Tamil Brahman elite had always been astute, sober, stable as a group, self-assured as a result of its long mastery over a docile and credulous "lower class", some of whose very presence—of the *pariahs*—polluted. Hence we may expect from the Configuration that modern Tamil literature would be Realo-Idealist at its best, with a good deal of Socio-Psychological work, catering largely to the middle classes, and anti-Brahman Radicalism once the deprived and exploited masses were awakened through Rational-Mercantile and Scientific Democratic ideas filtering in.

In the late nineteenth century non-Brahmans and unorthodox Brahmans only cultivated Tamil prose with "modern" themes, often by imitation. The Christian, Vedanayakam Pillai (1824-89), wrote the *Pratapa-Mudaliyar Charitram,* a socio-psychological novel. The non-Brahman P. Sundaram Pillai's *Monomaniyam* was a straight adaptation from an English novel by Bulwer Lytton. Rajam Ayyar, a Ramakrishna-Vivekanandite Neo-Hindu Brahman, wrote the socio-psychological romance, *Kamalambal.* Another romance of the "Western" type is *Mohanangi* of Saravana Pillai of Jaffna, a non-Brahman, based on Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia.* Thus, Brahmans held aloof from the new movement, except Rajam Ayyar, who was not quite an orthodox one.

In the 20th century, the foremost writer in the Romantic genre was the poet Subrahmanya Bharati (1882-1946). Bharati came under the spell of Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita and Aurobindo. He was a journalist, and for preaching nationalism became a "wanted man" of the police and fled to Pondicherry (1909-1919). Margaret Noble, or Sister Nivedita, inspired him to extreme nationalism. Once she opened the upper part of her dress and thundered: "Your people must become brave. You must have daring to stab us here." At that moment he became an extremist and a fervent worshipper of Sister Nivedita.[152] He hailed Tilak and Lajpat Rai. But later be became a Gandhian. He believed that the past of India was all glory and grandeur, but he lashed out, at the same time, against caste.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



"Kalki" (R. Krishnamurti) wrote Romantic-Historic novels.

Among Socio-Psychological writers we have the keen social thinker and poet, Kavimani Deshika Vinayakam Pillai, S. Venkataramani, who took up the problems of peasants in his *Murugan;* Shrimati Koda Nayak, who wrote over seventy social and psychological novels; T. L. Natesan ("Shankara-raman"), who wrote about the submerged layers of society; and "Kalki" essayist, journalist (*Kalki, Ananda-Vikatan, Navashakti* etc.) and novelist.

On the Realo-Idealist side there is Bharati again. Bharati was much influenced by Bengali authors like Bankim Chatterjee and Tagore, and as is the prevailing tradition of Bengal, worshipped the Almighty as the Divine Mother, rather than following the usual Tamilian one of thinking of Him either as Shiva or Vishnu. In his practices he was a staunch Brahman, but he was an eclectic, and praised Allah and Jesus Christ in his poems. Although a mystic he hailed the Russian Revolution. He translated not only the *Geeta,* but also Tagore and Tolstoy into Tamil.

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari ("C.R." or "Rajaji") is famous for his short stories, essays and his great Tamil work on the Sanskrit Mahabharata. In all this he was a Realo-Idealist.

On the Radical side we have Bharati-dasan, an atheist. Anti-"Aryan", he supports Duryodhana against Yudhishthira and Ravana against Rama. He is a passionate believer in individualism and socialism. Kamba Dasan is a lover of life and of progress. Like Kothamangalam Subbu he is also the champion of peasants, fishermen etc. Annadurai and Karunanidhi, who have gained fame as politicians of the D. M. K.—*Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* (Dravidian Progress Society), started as story-tellers, novelists, playwrights and cinematic script-writers.

*Kannada:*

The Kannada area was basically agricultural, except for certain State-run industries in Mysore/Bangalore, and the Kolar gold-fields. The portions in the old States of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Bombay and Hyderabad were neglected, but stable at a low level of average livelihood. Conurbations like Mysore, Bangalore etc. were alert and awake with a developing middle class. Mysore was an Indian State with little direct foreign influence. Hence the late modern literary development in Kannada, largely under Bengali and Marathi influence, through translations. From the configuration we would expect the predominance of Romanticism in literature, with Socio-Psychology taking second place, catering to an elite largely Theo-Aristocratic, Near-Theocratic in character, confronted by ripples of Rational-Mercantilism and Scientific-Democracy. Missionaries like Kittel, and scholars like Rice and Fleet rendered valuable service in the study of Kannada. The *Kannada Sahitya Parisad* (Academy of Kannada Literature), started in Bangalore in 1914, helped a good deal in the development of Kannada.

"Modern" literature began in the 20th century, in the Romantic genre. B. M. Srikanthayya introduced blank verse into Kannada. The structure of his *Asvathaman* is that of a Greek tragedy. Other Romantic poets are D. N. Gundappa, K. V. Puttappa, V. K. Gokak, Masti Venkatesa Ayyangar and D. R. Bendre ("Ambika-tanaya Datta"). Gokak's *Samudra Geeta Galu* ("Ocean Songs") is full of a wide, humanity-embracing perspective. Masti sees Man as the temple of God, and God to him is a beloved friend. Bendre has been profoundly influenced by Tagore, Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi, besides Romantic English poets like Shelley and Keats. His *Muvattu-Mura-Kotigala* (Thirty three crores) is a fine poem on the "dumb masses of India".

In prose A. Krishna Rao wrote romantic novels, many with artist heroes. The poets of the *Geleyara Gumpu* ("The Circle of Friends") at Dharwar—Bendre, Halasangi Chennamallappa, V. K. Gokak and R. S. Mugali—with their high class literary journal, *Jaya Karnataka,* and collections of folk songs, were a great force in the rise of modern Kannada literature.

Among Socio-Psychological writers are S. R. Karanth ; M. S. Puttanna ; K. V. Puttappa, whose *Kanuru Subbamma*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Heggadati* (K. S., the Headman's wife) is said to be very popular; Masti Venkatesa Ayyangar, whose novelette, *Subbanna,* is rich in character study; T. P. Kailasam, who lived long in England and wrote comic and socio-psychological dramas; and the dramatist, Adya Rangacharya.

Anna Rao in his *Rashtra-Purush,* written with the background of the freedom struggle, can be called a Realo-Idealist. And A. N. Krishna Rao has Surrealist leanings in his novels.

*Malayalam:*

Unlike other parties of the South, Kerala has always been exposed to manifold foreign influences. As a result, over one-fifth of its population today is Christian, mainly of the Syrian Church, and nearly one-fifth Muslim.[153] The first Christians came soon after Jesus Christ himself; and Arabs have been coming to the shores of Kerala from pre-Islamic times. A strong Sanskritic influence came down the West Coast from dim antiquity, along with the Nambudiri Brahmans, with the result that Malayalam is the most Sanskritised of the Southern languages.

There are rich people and very poor people. As a result partly of the educational efforts of Maharani Gauri Parvati Bai of Travancore early in the nineteenth century, the percentage of literacy in Kerala is the highest in India—60% overall, 66% among males and 54% among females, according to the 1971 census.[154] There is, therefore, a large middle class. The basic structure was Theo-Aristocratic, tempered by trading and plantations. The pressure of population on the land is among the highest in India. The elite classes with literary traditions consist not only of Brahmans, but also of the ruling class, the Nairs. Thus, with this rich amalgam one may well expect a variegated literary culture, and full representation for all our four categories—Romantic, Socio-Psychological, Realo-Idealistic, Radical.

There was the problem of the literary language; in the north a colloquial style was favoured, in the south a Sanskritic one. A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1862-1918), of the Travancore court, advocated a middle course in his *Kerala*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Paniniyam*, and this became the standard language.[155] The "modern" novel arrived in Kerala with the romance of T. M. Appu Netunnati, *Kundalata* (1887). O, Chandu Menon wrote a socio-psychological novel, *Indulekha* (1889), giving a true and convincing picture of his time.

Translations from Bengali literature helped in the diffusion of new ideas and forms. Mrs Kalyani Amma translated many of the works of Bankim, and V. Unnikrishna Nayar, some of the poems of Tagore.

More than in any other regional language literature there is an *embarrasement de richesse* in Malayalam. Hence, only brief notices are given here of eminent writers in the four genres of literature, all of the 20th century.

In the Romantic we have—

G. Sankara Kurup—He is a lyricist and symbolist, deeply influenced by Tagore, and full of Tagorean mysticism in some of his poems; C. Krishna Pillai is full of word music, whose pastoral elegy, *Ramanan*, is said to be a work of haunting beauty; K. Narayana Menon wrote ballad-type works, eschewing Sanskrit; K. Cheriyan Mappillai's *Sri Yesu Vijayam* (Victory of Jesus) is an epic; Balamani Amma is the poetess of motherhood; Mary John Thottam, a nun, is a religious-philosophic poetess; Ulloor Parameswara Iyer's *Karnabhushanam* evokes the past in poetry.

Among Romantic-Nationalists have been Vallathol, Kurup, K. M. Panikkar and C. V. Raman Pillai. Vallathol Narayana Menon, the poet, was also a Gandhian politician, and a lover of the arts and drama, giving new directions to the art movement through his *Kerala-Kala-Mandalam*. He made a verse-by-verse translation of Valmiki's *Ramayana* into Malayalam besides composing stirring national poems. Kurup was a Gandhian to begin with, like Vallathol. K. M. Panikkar glorified Kerala in his historical novel, *Kerala-simham*. C. V. Raman Pillai wrote historical novels on the past of Travancore, the most famous being that centring on Maharaja Martanda Varma.

Among the Socio-Psychological writers, we have Kumaran Asan, Keshavan Nair, Uroor P. C. Kutti-Krishnan, Vaikom Muhammad Basheer, Parvati Antarjanam,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Lalitambika Antarjanam, C. V. Raman Pillai, K. Padmanabha Pillai, Joseph Mundassery, A. Balakrishna Pillai, P. K. Narayana Pillai, K. M. Panikkar and K. P. Kesava Menon.

Kumaran Asan's *Nalini* and *Leela* deal with unfulfilled love. He broke away from the Sanskrit *Sringara* (erotic) tradition and luxuriant phraseology, and used a direct diction, emphasising content rather than form.

Uroor P. C. Kuttikrishnan wrote penetrating short stories about middle class life in Malabar.

Vaikom Muhammad Basheer wrote about Kerala Muslims (*Mappillai* or Moplahs—"sons-in-law"), Parvati Antarjanam about the agonies, hopes and expectations of women, and Lalitambika Antarjanam about the social contradictions within the Nambudiri community.

C. V. Raman Pillai in his *Kuruppilla Kalari* ("School without a teacher") captures the unsettled conditions, due to a clash of cultures and ideas, among the Nairs. K. Padmanabha Pillai wrote an outstanding drama on the Passion of Christ, entitled *Kalvariyile Kalpa-padapam.*

Kerala has many socio-psychological critics and essayists like Joseph Mundassery and A. Balakrishna Pillai, a Franco-phile who gave the writings of Guy de Maupassant the great influence which it has on Malayalam literature.

The autobiographies of P. K. Narayana Pillai (*Smarana Mandalam*) and K. M. Panikkar (*Atma Katha*) are notable socio-psychological works.

K. P. Kesava Menon's travelogue *Bilatti Visesham* ("Report on England") describes his experience as a student in that country. K. M. Panikkar's *Apatkarmaya Yatra* ("A Dangerous Journey"), describes his war-time travels, and *Chinayile yoru Yatra* ("A Journey in China"), with extensive tours in China.

Among Realo-Idealists may be mentioned Vallathol, G. S. Kurup, C. Krishna Pillai and Vaikom Muhammad Basheer.

In his *Magdalana Mariam* (Mary of Magdalene), Vallathol deals with the life and conversion of Mary Magdalene, creating around the figure of Jesus Christ a re-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



markable atmosphere of divine peace. Basheer's *Balyakala Sakhi* ("Friend of Childhood") is a notable Realo-Idealist novel.

Among Radical writers are Kumaran Asan, Vallathol, Palai Narayanan Nair, Thakazhi Shivashankara Pillai, Joseph Mundassery, S. K. Pottekat and Saraswati Amma.

Kumaran Asan, an Ezhava (a depressed caste), poet, philosopher, reformer, spent some impressionable years in Calcutta, imbibing unorthodox ideas, which were reinforced by his becoming a disciple of the social reformer, Narayana Guru, back in Kerala. *Duravastha* ("Pitiable Condition") is about a Brahman woman who loses her home and relations during the Moplah rebellion of the nineteen-twenties, and becomes the wife of an Untouchable, who had protected her. *Chandala Bhikshuki* ("Untouchable Beggar Woman") and *Karuna* ("Compassion") cry out for social justice. In *Chintavishtayaya Sita* he portrays Sita as a flesh-and-blood woman, not a stereo-type blindy devoted to her husband. As may be expected, this raised a storm of protest.

Vallathol progressed from Romantic Gandhism to Realo-Idealism, and finally became a Radical in the last phase of his literary career. He wrote about toiling peasants, and castigated Fascists, Nazis and the Japanese in China.

Palai Narayanan Nair's *Kerala Valarunnu* ("Kerala Grows") is an epic poem on the legends, personalities and trends of the Malayalam region, suffused with progressive ideas.

Thakazhi Shiva Shankara Pillai's *Ranti-tan-gazhi* ("Two Measures of Grain") is a detailed novel about landless peasant labour in the marshy lands near Alleppey. It became an instant classic. *Chemmeen* ("The Shrimps"), deals with the humble fisher-folk of Alleppey.

Joseph Mundassery's novel, *Kontayum Kurusum*, deals with the poorer classes of Christians.

Saraswati Amma is a militant feminist. S. K. Pottekat is a Radical writer of travelogues, which are said to be very interesting.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



In 1936 a Radical group was formed, the *Purogamana Vadam* (Progressive School) which helped very much in the dissemination of Radical ideas. Its chief lights were Joseph Mundassery, M. P. Paul, and A. Balakrishna Pillai.

There have been, and are, many literary magazines in Kerala. In the beginning of this century *Malayala Manorama* under Kandathil Varghese Mappilai set itself deliberately to encourage literature. Other literary journals have been *Bhasha Poshini, Rasika Ranjini, Atma Poshini* and *Mangalodayam. Kavana Kaumudi,* devoted entirely to poetry, flourished for twenty five years. The literary weeklies published by the popular daily newspapers, the *Mathrubhumi* weekly of Calicut, and the *Malayala Rajyam* weekly of Quilon shaped both literature and literary understanding.

Some of the personalities had many facets, at different periods of time. Thus, Kumaran Asan was a Romantic and then a Radical; Vallathol, a Reassertionist, A Realo-Idealist and a Radical; and Sankara Kurup, a Romantic and a Realo-Idealist. This is because in Kerala, as C. Kunhan Raja States:—[156]

> Literature has become the inheritance of the people at large. In Kerala, where there is almost universal education, at least among the lower age groups, and the percentage of literacy is the highest in India, it was to be expected that literature would become generally a matter for the people as a whole. Today all classes and castes are represented among the younger creative writers and if the formalism of classical scholarly verse has disappeared with the courtly graces of Kerala Varma, and the mellifluous diction of *Mayura Sandesam* no longer moves us, what has taken their place is something more virile, genuine and closely related to the life of the people.

And this shift towards the Radical, with increasing literacy, is bound to be the pattern of the future elsewhere in India too.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*General Conclusions.* Certain general conclusion emerge from the above study:—(i) during the period 1857 onwards there has been a shift, away from the earlier Theocratic and Theo-Aristocratic themes, to Scientific-Democratic categories—Romantic/Romantic-National, Socio-Psychological, Realo-Idealist, Radical, Surrealist—in all the Regional Language literatures; (ii) As Calcutta was the civil, military and business headquarters of the British for over 150 years, change came first in Bengali, and the effect was also the deepest there; (iii) the strong, direct, demonstrable effect of English on Bengali is clear right from the beginning, and continues to the present day; (iv) in several other languages the influence is not only direct from English, but secondarily from Bengali; Hindi specially was tied to the apron-strings of Bengali right to the nineteen-twenties and thirties; (v) the relative proportion of the various categories—Romantic/Romantic-Nationalist, Socio-Psychological, Realo-Idealist, Radical, Surrealist—has depended on the configuration of forces, and is a changing one; these forces include the percentage and quality of education of various classes; their material strength, literary heritage etc.; (vi) with increasing education the shift is likely to be to the Radical, at any rate in the initial stages, as in Malayalam; (vii) there is no such thing as the 'genius of the people'; all the developments in the various literatures are quite capable of rational explanation, indicating the importance of the Causality Principle in all human affairs, including literature, and the universality of the assumptions and the methods to which it gives rise.

## Q. Indo-Anglian Literature: Its Importance

Although English is a foreign language more people can read in English that in many of the Regional languages, perhaps more than in *any* of them. If one third of the 30% of the Indian who are literate (1971 census) read English tolerably well—and this presumption may not be wrong—then the number involved would be about 55 million, more than the number of literates in Bengali, or even Hindi. With increasing literacy the number of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



English-reading people will increase, as English is not only a compulsory second language in India, but much more. In actual practice, if not in theory, *English is the first language in India today.* And in spite of some propaganda and rhetoric against English—a good deal of it insincere or hypocritical—the desire to know this language is increasing, as not only is it an avenue for better jobs and prospects, but it is also full of romance, socio-psychological analysis, realo-idealism and radicalism. In short, it is the fount of Scientific-Democratic ideas and ideals. There are other such languages in the world, but as Britain ruled India for nearly two hundred years the English language is entrenched in India. It is because of English, the international language *par excellence,* that Indians have had a hearing in the world.

Of course, the English understood and spoken in India by the majority is not quite what Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II speaks, but no doubt she would recognise it as hers if she were to hear it, as the curries served in London restaurants are curries after all, though not quite the same as those which we have in India—which again differ for different parts of the country. There is no shame in speaking, reading and writing Indian-English, as there is none in American-English or Canadian-English or Australian-English. And, to be realistic, only really very major works in Indian-English will be noticed out of India, as it is the case with respect to say, the very much more powerful American-English. Indian-English is so much a part and parcel of modern India that it should be included in the list of languages contained in the Eighth Schedule to the Indian Constitution.

And, more and more people will write in English. More authors, indeed, have written in English after 1947, than before it. When the whole of India is literate the market may well be bigger than the rest of the English-speaking world put together. The mood will be more and more that of the poetess, Kamala Das:—

> I am Indian, very brown, born in Malabar,
> I speak three languages, write in
> Two, dream in one. Don't write in English, they said,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



English is not your mother-tongue.
Why not leave
Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,
Every one of you? Why not let
me speak in
Any language I like? The language I speak
Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness,
All mine, mine alone.

The first Indians to achieve fame as literary writers in English were the two Bengali sisters, Aru Dutt (1854-74) and Toru Dutt (1856-77). Toru Dutt's *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* and *Journal de Mademoiselle d'Anvers* (in French) are remarkable productions. The two sisters together wrote a book of poems entitled *A Sheaf gleaned in the French fields,* which filled Edmund Gosse, the famous English literary critic, "with surprise and almost rapture".

Many of the Romantic writers in Indian-English are obsessed with the spurious "East-West" theme, as were British writers, as we have seen in Section O. The encounter is between two different Stages of Civilization, not between two geographic areas. Lack of this insight has made the consideration of the encounter between Theo-Aristocratic, Near-Theocratic India on the one hand, and Scientific-Democratic Britain on the other, a subject-matter of cliches and of wrong theorisation, and therefore, of incorrect conclusions.

Sudhin Ghose, in his tetralogy—*And Gazelles Leaping, Cradle of the Clouds, The Vermilion Boat,* and *The Flame of the Forest,* is obsessed with this "East-West" theme. So is Kamala Markandeya in her *Some Inner Fury,* (1957) a novel of India set against the political and social turmoil of 1942. Santha Rama Rau's Baba in her *Remember the House* (1956) ultimately marries Hari, representing Indian traditional (i.e. Near-Theocratic) values, as marriage is held to be a social, not an individual matter. In Nayantara Sahgal's *A Time to be Happy* (1957) Sanad Shivpal, rich, "Westernised", ultimately marries Kusum, unsophisticated, "non-Westernised" daughter of a college lecturer, and turns from his tennis to Hindi and spinning.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Krishna in B. Rajan's *The Dark Dancer* (1959) is torn between "East" and "West", his wife Kamala and the Englishwoman Cynthia, and ultimately turns to the former. Laila in Attia Hossain's *Sunlight on a Broken Column* (1961) marries Ameer against the will of her family, but the marriage is cut short by Ameer's death, and back to her family home, Laila finds belonging in the arms of her cousin, the traditional Asad. Mrs Meenakshi Mukherjee makes two pertinent comments on such conflicts portrayed by Indo-Anglian writers. One is that the pattern is the same:[157] "rebellion, romantic quest, final submission to tradition values". And that instead of the triangle the third force "is provided not by a human being, but by a more powerful and less defined force—the joint family, tradition, orthodoxy".

Of the Romantic-Nationalist poets the most famous was Sarojini Naidu, who brought out her first collection of poems in 1905 (*The Golden Threshold*). This was followed by *The Bird of Time* (1912) and *The Broken Wing* (1917).

In the post-1947 era there have been many Indo-Anglian poets like Nissim Ezekiel, Dom Moraes, P. Lal, Pritish Nandi, Pradip Sen, Deb Kumar Das, Adil Jussawalla, Kamala Das, A. K. Ramanujam etc., whose poetry is no whit inferior to those of English-born writers.

There are many Socio-Psychological writers, all of post-1947 vintage. The more prominent among them are mentioned below. Bhabani Bhattacharyya deals with the theme of change in *A Goddess name Gold. He Who Rides a Tiger* is about an impostor who pretends to be a *yogi*, but in the end he transcends himself, and the fraud ceases to be a fraud.

G. V. Desani's *All About H. Hatterr* is a comic socio-psychological book, a supposed autobiography of an Anglo-Malayan orphan, brought up in India, who meets "sages of Calcutta, Rangoon, Madras, Bombay, and the Right Honourable the Sage of Delhi, the wholly worshipful of Moghalserai and his naked majesty number one, the sage of all India himself".

Kamala Markandeya's *Nectar in a Sieve* is about the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



theme of change. Her *A Silence of Desire* is about a triangle, Sarojini, her husband Dandekar, and a *Swami,* to whom Sarojini goes for faith cure. The nuances of the relationship between the physical side of things and the non-physical are delineated with sensitive grace, against the broader theme of Faith *versus* Rationalism.

Ruth Jhabvala, a Polish Jewess first turned Englishwoman, and then by marriage, an Indian, has written socio-psychological works, novels and plays, of absorbing interest, like *The Householder, Esmond in India* etc. She is witty, caustic, slightly malicious, and although standing outside her characters does not seem to dislike them. She has been called the "Jane Austen of India".

In Attia Hossain's *Sunlight on a Broken Column,* the troubled years before and after the Partition (1947), are seen through the eyes of a young Lucknow Muslim girl, Laila, brought up in affluent seclusion. The background theme is of change, of growth, maturity and decay.

Anita Desai's *Cry, the Peacock* and *Voices in the City* are rich in word music, sensuous, full of live imagery. A Bengali-German brought up in Calcutta (married to a Gujarati), she evokes the images of the complicated city of Calcutta graphically.

New writers (i.e. post-1965) like Arun Joshi (*The Foreigner*) and Bharati Mukherjee (*The Tiger's Daughter*) write sophisticated, sensitive books.

R. K. Narayan is undoubtedly the greatest of our socio-psychological writers in English. The locale of his tales is Malgudi, an imaginery small town in South India. Among his books may be mentioned *The Bachelor of Arts* (1937), *Mr. Sampath* (1949), *The Financial Expert* (1952), *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1960), *The Man Eater of Malgudi* (1961) and *The Guide* (1963).

The *Bachelor of Arts* sets the pattern for all of Narayan's novels—Normalcy/Its Disturbance/Return to Normalcy, all in the small town where the neighbours can almost hear each other breathing, but with each person set apart by his special idiosyncrasies, with the author surveying and describing it all, from outside, with an amused and tolerant humour.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*The Man Eater of Malgudi* is good example of a R. K. Narayan story-plot. Vasu, a dynamic man, comes to Malgudi from outside. He is like a *rakshasa,* a demon from old Indian mythology, volcanic in his work and pleasures. He sets up a taxidermy business, fighting the Forest Department and all and sundry, kills animals, processes, stuffs and packs them, and sends them in boxes to different places. He frightened children, kills dogs, repels people by the stench of his workshop and by bringing prostitutes home. He recognised no restraints, but finally goes too far from "normalcy" and is destroyed. In the final scene we see this "normalcy" returning again with Sastri of the printer's shop disappearing behind the blue curtains to print labels for K. J's Soft Drinks.

Nayantara Sahgal's early books *Prison and Chocolate Cake* and *From Fear Set Free* are autobiographical. *A Time to be Happy* deals with the "East-West" theme, but there are other aspects to the book which differentiate it from others of this genre. *This Time of Morning* is about the diplomatic world, and *Storm in Chandigarh* about oil, high politics and the uneasy marriage of two couples. In *The Day in Shadow* the theme is of a woman burdened by a harsh divorce settlement, but glowing with the radiance of a new-found love.

A niece of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Nayantara Sahgal describes, in *Prison and Chocolate Cake,* life in the sprawling Nehru household at Allahabad against the background of the Nationalist movement, and of her education, along with her sisters Lekha and Rita, in the United States. Her pen pictures are vivid and full of charm, and the writing is engaging, enabling the reader to participate fully in the activities of an independent-minded and friendly young female with strong common sense.

Nayantara Sahgal's style in all her books is free, effervescent, bubbling. Presumably because she was brought up in the highly Anglicised Nehru household, and went to the United States for her education while still in her "teens", her English comes naturally to her, without any effort, making her style a very natural one.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Mulk Raj Anand is the most prominent of our Realo-Idealist writers in English. His *Coolie* is a human being, for the first time portrayed as such in an Indian novel—in 1933. Anand believes in the merit of every human being, regardless of his station in life, and in the brotherhood of man. The same ideals of brotherhood are propagated in *The Untouchable.* Iqbal Nath Sharshar, a character in *The Untouchable,* speaks of mechanising the mode of garbage disposal as the best way of solving the caste problem.

The trilogy—*The Village, Across Black Waters,* and *The Sword and the Sickle* deals with the growth and development of the mind of Lal Singh ("Lalu") of the Punjab.

Mulk Raj Anand is a great writer because of his idealism and his passionate belief in progress, in the worth of every individual, and in the brotherhood of man. He is also a powerful and consummate artist, evoking vivid word pictures, but the explicit propagation of his ideas is also an integral part of his novels.

Among other Realo-Idealist writers may be mentioned Nagarajan, Khwaja Ahmad Abbas and Khushwant Singh. Nagarajan's *The Chronicles of Kedaram* deals with turmoil and change during the nationalist movements. Anwar in Khwaja Ahmad Abbas' *Inquilab* is directly involved in all political events from Jallianwala Bagh to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, that is, over a time-span of twelve years.

Khushwant Singh, in his *Train to Pakistan* is not squeamish by any means, and has no qualms in giving graphic descriptions of atrocities. The story is based on the love between a Sikh ruffian, Jugga, and a Muslim girl. Khushwant Singh, in this and other books like *I shall not hear the nightingale* is racy, down-to-earth, but penetrating, with a man-to-man quality in his writings. He is free from hypocrisy and devoted to Truth as he perceives it.

The proportion of reasonably comfortably situated writers and readers of Indian-English, compared to the total population is, on qualitative impressions, higher than for the various regional language groups. Hence, one would expect a preponderance of Socio-Psychological and Roman-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



tic novels, and lesser of Realo-Idealistic or Radical ones. It is this which we find. Indeed, there is really no Radical novel worth the name in Indian-English. Surrealism also is more or less lacking, although some authors have surrealistic traits peeping through their otherwise "respectable" works, much of it of "hot house" foreign origin. The relatively large number of competent women authors is remarkable—perhaps women have a greater sense of language, and, therefore, pick up the nuances of a different language more easily.

A great deal of space, relatively speaking, has been given to English. This is because English is growing in importance in India and will grow further in future. It is significant that most of our prominent Indo-Anglian poets and novelists belong to the post-1947 era. Because of the growing importance of English in India, translations from Regional Language literature into English, and books about them, will constitute one way of cultural integration. The P. E. N. under the guidance of Madame Sophia Wadia has done very good work in the latter field, and its mantle has fallen on the Sahitya Akademi. Unfortunately we have no translators of stature, from our regional literatures into English, as there are, for instance, of Russian in Britain like Constance Garnett, Louise and Aylmer Maude, David Margashak etc. An outstanding exception is Sachindra Lal Ghosh, who has been assiduously translating modern classical Bengali novels into English. A thorough translation programme and the widespread, subsidised sale of such translated books will give a great fillip to inter-regional understanding and to Pan-Indian emotional integration.

### R. Changes in other Aspects of Culture

(i) *Education:*

As a result of the report of Ripon's Hunter Commission (1883), the Bentinck-Macaulay-Wood system of education was elaborated, private enterprise was encouraged, a system of grants-in-aid instituted and inspection of higher educational facilities started. The Hunter Commission also suggested that courses in commercial, engineering and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



agricultural subjects should be offered in schools, but this did not happen. The caste-bound Indian elite did not want training in fields which lowered their dignity, fields which were outside their divinely-allocated avocations. They wanted a literary type of education to get government jobs. But so many clerical jobs were not to be had for the asking. Soon educated unemployment began to rear its head, of people good for no practical work, and capable only of doing clerical work or in engaging in loud-mouthed criticism. They formed good material for the politician and the agitator.

Curzon laid stress on science and technical subjects, and instituted a separate degree in science. But his enthusiasm was not shared by the Indian elite. In the first decade of the 20th century 81 per cent of graduates were in arts, 9 per cent in medicine, 4 per cent in engineering, and only 2 per cent in science.[159] Curzon insisted on certain standards in colleges and universities with regard to accommodation, buildings, finances, libraries, practical teaching etc. and made it obligatory on the universities to teach. Using this facility Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, made it the premier research and teaching organisation in the nineteen tens and twenties. Curzon also encouraged primary schools with the vernacular medium of instruction. He deplored "too slavish imitation of English models" and laid great emphasis on the Indian content of Indian education, without much success, as the Indian elite preferred to learn foreign textbooks by heart. He tried to introduce the residential system, but failed.

After, Curzon, schools, colleges and universities grew apace and education was practically wholly British Rational-Humanist inspired. Thus there was a good deal of *Propagation-and-Assimilation.* Sir C. V. Raman even won the Nobel Prize in physics in 1929, indicating the extent to which individual Indians shone in the new learning.

(ii) *Art and Architecture* :

In the 19th-early 20th century we have Ravi Varma (1848-1906), who painted in oils and used West European

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



techniques. His oleographs on subjects from Hindu mythology, character studies and portraits flooded the market. He was a *Transmutationist,* much more than an Appropriator, and his pictures are definitely Indian, but not in the old style.

The "Bengal School" in the early 20th century, initially consisting of pupils of E. B. Havell, Principal of the School of Art in Calcutta, men like Abanindra Nath Tagore, Nandalal Bose etc. tried another sort of *Transmutation.* They attempted a "synthesis" of Indian themes with techniques borrowed from Ajanta and from Mughal and Rajput miniatures, as well as from Chinese and Japanese paintings. But they were criticised, their colours were "vague", their drawings "insipid" and "lacking in vigour". The paintings of the Bengal School, in a general way, look like a less vigorous and more sentimental and emotional version of West European pre-Raphaelite painting.

The greatest Indian *Transmutationist* in art was Amrita Sher-Gil (1913-41), half-Sikh-half-Hungarian. She spent about half her life in Europe, in Hungary, and as an art student in Paris. She evolved new techniques in handling her subjects, her inspiration being derived alike from Ajanta, the Basohli and other Indian miniatures, Cezanne and Gauguin. She combined disparate elements like colours, lines, spaces and planes and integrated them in a manner uniquely her own. No one can see a Sher-Gil and say that it is anything but from her brush. There is a symmetry of composition, apparent El Greco like elongations, and bold handling of colour contrasts which are aesthetically very satisfying.

Jamini Roy, patronised by Mrs R. G. Casey, wife of the then Governor of Bengal, in the nineteen forties, was a *Reassertionist,* drawing his inspiration from the *patas* or Kalighat scroll paintings as well as Rajput miniatures. The Kalighat *patuas* or artists were also doll and image makers. Their paintings, with bold and sweeping brush strokes, gave form to full and rounded plastic masses, akin to their dolls and images. Their subject matter was—all aspects of life, both sacred and profane. Their influence

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



is evident in the paintings of Jamini Roy, as are the flat planes and bright colours of Rajput miniatures.

Another *Reassertionist* artist was Abdur Rahman Chagtai, whose paintings illustrated an edition of the Urdu writings of Ghalib. Chagtai paints in the old Mughal school. Jamini Roy and Chagtai have not had successors, in the Reassertionist School, who have equalled their merit.

Other artists have been *Assimilationists,* in our terminology, imitators of the West, often vigorous and interesting, but without much originality or speciality.

Europeans in India no longer took interest in painting. Zoffany reprints were no longer necessary in the age of the daguerro-type, and later, camera.

In architecture there has been only *Propagation-Assimilation.* Nothing new has emerged. The Public Works Department went in for what is known as *Dak Bungalow* ("Guest House") *Gothic.* The railway stations, in particular, were Gothic and there were also many buildings in the Italian *palazzi* style. In all the Gothic and Neo-Gothic buildings Mughal domes and motifs were incorporated, giving the architecture "a pleasant zaniness which was not in the minds of their designers".[160]

In the 20th century the Scientific-Democrats built the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, stately buildings like the Secretariat, Parliament House and the Viceroy's Palace in New Delhi, and many fine Provincial Council Chambers. The original New Delhi was basically the creation of Sir Edwin Lutyens, partly on the model of L'Enfant's Washington.

Indians imitated their masters, and continue to copy Europeans and Americans, down to functional buildings, including tall airconditioned ones, all over the country.

The encounter in art and architecture, therefore, has not produced so much change as in the fields of ideas and of literature, undoubtedly as there were no equivalent of the Brahmans and Quasi-Brahmans of the latter, in the former.

(iii) *Folk arts and crafts:*

There has been a great revival of Indian folk arts and crafts, after Independence. Jasleen Dhamija, in her *Indian*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Folk Arts and Crafts* (New Delhi, 1970), speaks of three types of crafts—(a) folk craft objects created by people for their personal use, or by the village craftsmen for a limited clientele with whom they are in touch; (b) crafts which have developed around religious centres—special kinds of cloth, *patachitras* (painting on cloth), wooden carved deities, stone replicas of shrines etc; (c) commercial crafts in special centres—textiles, pottery, ivory and stone carving, bronze casting, jewellery, lapidary work etc. (*Reassertionist*).

(iv) *Theatre, Dancing, Music:*

The Calcutta theatre, largely amateur, has been active since the 18th century. The Bengali theatre played an active part in arousing nationalist feelings. The Marathi stage has also been very active, with vigorous dramatists.

Since Independence the theatre has been vigorous all over India. Indian theatre-acting is still, by and large, mainly amateur. Groups originate, sprout and fade away. The themes and techniques are those of "appropriation". For instance, the Indian People's Theatre, in the nineteen-forties, was based on the Moscow Art Theatre.

The Bengal (Calcutta) theatre, since Independence, has been mainly Socio-Psychological and Radical, but also Surrealist (Freudian). Sombhu and Tripti Mitra, Badal Sarkar, Utpal Datta, Ajitesh Bandyopadhyay etc. have vigorous troupes. The old *jatra* form has also been used to compose plays on Hitler, Lenin and Mao three different kinds of personality.

The Marathi theatre was modernised by Bhalerao, with his Mumbai Maratha Sahitya Sangh. P. L. Deshpande, among other things, adapted foreign plays like Gojol's "The Inspector-General". The Marathi theatre can have on its boards rollicking comedies as well as subtle, socio-psychological probings, like Vijay Tendulkar's *Shantata! Court chalu ahe* (Silence! The Court is in session!). All this is *Appropriation.*

In North India Mohan Rakesh's *Asadh ka ek din* (on Kalidasa) and *Adhe Adhure* (probing into a frustrated woman's mind) are socio-psychological. Sheila Bhatia

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



(Vats) is a Transmutationist, trying to evolve something new by blending old Indian and "Western" (Scientific-Democratic) techniques, for instance in themes like *Heer Ranjha*. Another such transmutationist is Habeeb Tanveer, with his use of the Chhatisgarhi dialect, as well as his powerful *Agra Bazaar*, based on the life of Muhammad Nazir. Begum Qudsia Zaidi has also been experimenting, for instance with Habeeb Tanveer's *Mitti ki Gadi* ("Little Clay Cart") based on Shudrak's *Mrichchakatika*, in *Nautanki* form, in her Hindustani Theatre.

The drama has been used for politics, and perhaps in this South India dominates. For instance, 'Cho' in Tamil and Girish Karnad (of *Tughlaq* fame) in Kannada.

There are amateur groups in English. Some have been experimenting with various forms and themes, like Gopal Sharman and Jalabala Vaidya in their "Akshara" theatre in New Delhi.

Ebrahim Alkazi and Satyadev Dubey were active experimenters in Bombay. Al-kazi now directs the National School of Drama at New Delhi. Hindusthani adaptations of Sophocles, Shakespeare, Becket, Brecht, Chekhov, Camus etc. have been produced by him.

Indian theatrical activity is meagre for a country of such vast size. But it is bubbling with activity, excitement and appropriation. This has happened since the elite, i.e. Brahmans and Quasi-Brahmans mostly, have begun to take interest in it. It is largely amateur and functions practically without much State backing, unlike in Continental countries and the Soviet Union.

Before Independence dancing was not considered "respectable" by Indian Near-Theocrats and was left to "common people" (folk dancers and tribal dancers) or to courtesans or temple dancers (*devadasis*). In the nineteen-twenties Rabindra Nath Tagore, imbued with Rational-Humanist ideas, made the Manipuri form of dance popular in his Shanti-Niketan, and the prestige of this Nobel Prize winner made the idea of dancing in public by "respectable" people, including women, first tolerable and then acceptable. Rukmini Devi began to dance and organise dances at Kalakshetra in Adyar. A

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



great *devadasi* like Bala Saraswathi danced to ticket buying public audiences. Uday Shankar, trained partly by the famous Russian ballerina, Anna Pavlova, formed his own troups and style. But the Indian schools of dancing which are prevalent today are *Reassertionist.* Broadly five such schools, all "classical" are recognised—Bharata Natyam, Kathakali and Kuchipudi (a vigorous form of Bharata Natyam) in the South, the Kathak in the North, and Manipuri of Manipur. Odissi of Orissa, like the Bharata Natyam, but softer, is beginning to come to its own.

Folk dancing has been popularised through the Republic Day performances, largely because of the Rational-Humanism of Jawahar Lal Nehru. Of the many colourful folk dances of India the *bhangra* of the Punjab seems to be the most popular.

In the South, Classical Music ("Karnataka Music") was heard by people at large in temples. In North India it was largely restricted to Court *durbars,* and various schools (*gharanas*) grew up. The radio has popularised Classical Music.

The escape from Near-Theocracy by the slow appropriation of Rational-Humanist and Scientific-Democratic ideas by the elite, and its filtration downwards, is thus making the life of the Indian people more varied in its response to dance and music.

(v) *Cinema:*

The cinema is a Scientific-Democratic art form, reflecting Scientific-Democratic life, but it is used in India today, in the nineteen seventies, for other purposes, as we shall see. The Indian film industry is the third largest in the world according to the criterion of the number of films turned out every year, immediately following Hollywood and Japan. In India, the Hindi film industry is backed by powerful commercial interests and caters not only to the Hindi speaking, but also to large non-Hindi audience, speaking allied languages, and even to the South. So we reflect on Hindi films here in a general way, but the observations would apply, broadly, to other regional

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



language films also, except for Bengali and Marathi ones. The average Hindi film is generally not a mono-theme one, unless it follows a great novel or is a "mythological". Usually there are many component elements—a boy meets girl love story ; socio-psychological probings, especially into women's feelings ; comic characters and much horse-play ; long song-and-dance sequences, including cabarets ; characters breaking out into song at the slightest provocation ; rich villains, unscrupulous, at work in airconditioned offices, modernised, wearing suits, drinking, carousing with women ; fighting and fisticuffs ; hair-breadth escapades ; the hero always winning at last. The voices are loud, the acting usually melodramatic. Clearly the commercial Hindi film is meant to be an escape into a fantasy world, reflecting the desires of the sub-conscious and vicariously meeting them. As it caters to all tastes and to all manner of men and women, all in one film, it is usually long, requiring a sitting of at least three hours, if not more. Shattering comments have been made by critics, foreign and Indian, to the effect that Hindi commercial films cater to immature minds and undeveloped tastes.

The snooty Bengali considers his films to be superior and sophisticated. But the general view is that this is only partially true. The Bengali film tends to be too slow in action, there is too much vague talking, too much sentimentalizing and tear-shedding. It is also, usually, as melodramatic as the Hindi film, a fault also shared by the Marathi film, which however, has much more action than the Bengali film and is nowhere as lachrymose. The number of Marathi films produced in any year, however, is comparatively small. Some Bengali films are really good, even by international standards, and one director, Satyajit Ray, has won universal plaudits through his *Apu* trilogy —*Pather Panchali, Apur Sansar, Aparajito,* and other productions.

There have been, and are, very fine actors and actresses in Indian films, Hindi, Bengali etc. The numerous dance and song sequences have great appeal to audiences, not only in India, but also in South East Asia, West Asia etc. Hindi film music is composite—with a folk-song base,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



often Punjabi/bits of Indian classical melodies/romantic tunes, jazz and otherwise, borrowed from the "West"—all churned in the crucible of experimentation. The result is usually something very lilting and lively.

Where the Hindi film is weak is in its cultural confusion. Generally it is Reassertionist, in the sense of praising Theo-Aristocratic/Near-Theocratic values, almost unconsciously. It is partly appropriationist (of the "West"), in portraying the Boy meets Girl love-theme, not generally found today in average Indian life. As a result of viewing the world through the eyes of the film, "love marriages", as distinguished from "arranged marriages", are on the increase. But apart from the love theme, the Indian film is undecided as to what attitude to take in many vital matters. Should there be change in the material conditions of living, or is the old form of village life the best ? Should custom, etiquette and manners be "feudal" or "modern" ? Joint family or husband-wife-children family ? . The weightage is generally in favour of Theo-Aristocratic/ Near-Theocratic Values and Institutions. But there is a curious obsession with the "Western" way of life, almost a love-hate relationship. Cabarets are presented as deliciously wicked, but they have to be there. The "Westernised" man is a heavy drinker, unscrupulous, scheming, but also hard-working, prosperous, courageous. The "Westernised" woman is seductive, sexy, bent on having the good things of life. By contrast the "Indian Indian" man is vaguely idealistic, an impractical dreamer, poor, but conformist ; if a villain, then no meanness, lying, cheating, treachery is beyond him. The "Indian Indian" woman is a blind follower of Near-Theocratic traditions and values without any independent views of her own. All "Indian Indian" characters, male or female, are stereo-types, speaking in cliches, living by reflex action, conformist. Everything is Black versus White, with the "Westernised" man or woman always Black.

The average Bengali film reflects the prejudices of the Bengali *bhadralok* (gentry), largely low-income clerks. Drinking is the greatest vice, but nevertheless the *bhadralok,* who cannot afford it in real life, or is inhibited by

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Near-Theocratic ideas even if he can, takes an obsessive interest in it, as if enjoying it vicariously, as he does cabaret scenes and other portrayals of "Western" or "Westernised" "debauchery and licentiousness". There are many sentimental, nostalgic pictures of a vanished way of life, of a largely leisured "joint family" system, of the elite living upon the labours of unseen peasants and workers, of escapism, of a refusal to come to grips with a changing situation. Hence the average Bengali film offers no solution as to how to achieve Scientific-Democratic values. It is as wedded to Near-Theocracy as is the average Hindi film, although it may be more sophisticated in socio-psychological analysis, due largely to closer touch with Rational-Humanist and Scientific-Democratic ideas for over a century longer. These criticisms of the Bengali film apply with greater force to Hindi and other regional language films.

And yet this need not be so. The cautious makers of "commercial films" obviously do not want to raise serious problems. They see their films as opiates, which earn quick and very high rates of return on their money. But people will not always be satisfied with such opiates and as the quantity and quality of education improves they will long for Realo-Idealist and Radical films instead of Romantic-Reassertionist burlesques, pantomines and melodramas. It is pertinent to note here that as far back as 1956 Marie Seton, the well-known film critic, came across thousands of eager people waiting patiently to see films by Eisenstein and Czech cartoonists and on Giotto's frescoes on the life of Christ in a backwater like Gaya.[161] Obviously a great art-form is being misused for escapist ends just to satisfy the money-making mania of a few.

(vi) *Everyday Life :*

A new style of cooking grew up, which may be called *dak bungalow cuisine,* or as it is popularly known in India —*Angrezi Khana* ("English cooking"). This has served as an integrative force, even as a status-symbol, (replete with a *khansama*), among the elite, specially those with a European or American background, in a huge sub-continent

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



with many regional styles of cooking. *Angrezi Khana* is English cuisine in a somewhat mutilated form, and much more grease is used in the *dak bungalow*, to suit average Indian palates, than the *memsahib* would have approved. But the *memsahib's* legacy is seen in the generally high quality of the dessert, like puddings and souffles. And items like tea with milk and sugar, toast, and omelettes have found their way to the humblest *chai-khanas* ("tea-shops"). "Western" style furniture and furnishings have invaded not only the elite but also middle class households. and the younger urban men are fast exchanging the *dhoti* or *pyjama* for the trousers, a fashion which will no doubt spread from the town to the village along with increasing "modernisation".

S. Interaction Elsewhere in Asia (Except South-East Asia) : Comparison with India

(a) In China the main interaction took place in the fields of science and technology, politics and ideology (changing the Consciousness).

Appropriation in science and technology started during the reign of the Empress Tzu Hsi (end 19th/early 20th century), by her ministers—Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-Chang and Chang Chih-tung. The imperative was military, to ward off defeats of the type suffered in the Opium Ward and the Boxer Rebellion. These ministers built steamships, rail-roads, iron and steel mills etc. and such activities continued under the Kuo-Min-Tang (KMT). The Japanese, in their rule of a decade over China, added to the industrial infra-structure. (Appropriation).

There was an effort to change the Consciousness right from the beginning. In the middle of the nineteenth century Hung Hsiu-Chuan preached a Sinicized version of Christianity, which was also industrial-democratic in outlook (*Transmutation*), but his Taiping movement was crushed by the Chinese Theo-Aristocrats, assisted by foreign imperialists (*Conquest-Imposition*). Kang Yu Wei, towards the end of the 19th century, produced his remarkable *Ta Tung Shao* ("One World"), but this has not had wide public effect. In despair Radicals like Kuo

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Seng-tao went so far as to say: "Confucius and Mencius have deceived us".

Hu Shih, during the K. M. T. interlude, tried to change the Consciousness by his *Hsin Ching Nien* (New Youth) movement—democracy and science. (*Appropriation*). This was closely akin to Western liberalism in practice, but it vanished along with the K. M. T. Ultimately a heretical form of Western Liberalism—Marxism—was adopted. The Japanese war, and the destruction of Liberal intellectuals were undoubtedly strong reasons for this development. But we often find that when a society borrows the ideology of another, it does so in a heretical form, and so emphasises its independence. Thus, the Persians adopted the Shiah form of Islam, and the Russians, Marxism in its Leninist form. The Chinese, a brilliant and proud people, adopted Marxism and called it Maoism. According to Mao Tse-tung, there are two stages of socialism:

I. New Democratic Revolution: (Peasants, workers, small bourgeoisie and national capitalist).

II. Social Revolution:

Ultimately there is "permanent revolution", change in values, and the triumph of communism. (*Transmutation*). Hence Mao's antipathy, not only to his rivals like Lin Piao, but also to Theo-Aristocratic philosophers like Confucius (Kung Fu-tze).

On the political side Sun Yat Sen tried to appropriate the Scientific-Democratic concepts of politics. But his *San Min Chu I* failed as foreign imperialists did not give China time to develop in peace. War-lordism, capitalism and communism all took extreme forms.

The transformation in culture, up to the Communist take-over in 1945, was marginal. Since then it has proceeded rapidly apace. (Transformation).

(b) The martial Japanese rulers, the *samurai*, eagerly adopted Western military-scientific knowledge, (the *Rangakusha*) as stated in Chapter 25. There were also scientists with consuming passion for the new "Western" learning, in this Near-Rational-Mercantile Society (as stated in Chap-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ter 25), men like Hiraga Gannai, Sugita Gempaku, Honda Rimei, and above all, Shiba Kokan (18th century). In the 19th century works on chemistry, ordnance, mineralogy, ship-building etc. were translated. Fukuzawa Yukichi was a great force in "modernisation" in the 19th century. In about forty years, by 1905, Japan had completely modernised herself military-scientifically, the *samurai* giving up many of their privileges to ensure that this came to pass.

Their ideologies, State Shinto and *Bushido,* gave a fillip to the martial spirit, and armed with modern weapons it was dangerous. But it also had restraining effects (the importance of Faith as against Reason) on science and innovation.

On the political-military side Admiral Perry's bombardment and opening-up of Japan in 1853 had a traumatic effect, and it led to a resistance psychology and to an overbearing military arrogance. The Great Powers were then too absorbed elsewhere to try and conquer Japan, and they had their rivalries, *inter se.* The tension in the Japanese ethos ceased only after the defeat of Japan by Mac Arthur and his Americans in 1945. The Japanese were obviously trying to do too much, like German. Powerful as they were, the imposition of *Pax Japonica* in China and South East Asia, against the opposition of other powers, was beyond their capacity.

The Japanese were a Near-Rational-Mercantile people, as we have seen in Chapter 25, and earlier in this chapter. Hence they slid easily into Scientific-Democratic forms and themes in literature, art and architecture. In literature, in the 19th century, there was a lot of *Assimilitation,* particularly of Rousseau, and of the English novelists. This led by way of reaction, to a Romantic-Reassertion, the *Kenyusha* group (circa 1885-90). Then came Zolaesque Radicals, and in opposition to it, Socio-Psychologists like Soseki Natsume, Ryanosuke Akutagawa, Junichiro Tanizaki, and Yasunari Kawabata. Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948), with his domestic problems, was also a Socio-Psychological writer.

Proletarian (Radical) literature appeared again between 1920-32, with Upton Sinclair as model but was suppressed. This sort of literature was revived after 1945.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



After 1905 *shimpa* groups of theatres, with thesis plays, came into existence, as well as "Western" type dramas. Subsequently came experimentation, like all-female troupes and proletarian theatres.

(c) The Turks appropriated a certain amount of political-legal infra-structure from the Scientific-Democrats, as stated in Chapter 25. This was part of the process of military modernization. The Young Turks and Mustafa Kemal continued this *appropriation* process and the writer Tewfik Fikret embodied the philosophy of abandoning old ways and following the path of progress.

Resistance to Russians was made manifest at Plevna in 1877, and the Turks gained a breathing space for over 40 years.

The Pan-Turanism of the Young Turks in the early 20th century was a *Reassertion* of Turkish military values, as were its literary counterparts, the works of Mehemet Akif, Ziya Gok-Alp and Mehemet Emin. Fortunately, Mustafa Kemal and his associates limited Turkey to what it could realistically achieve. A thorough process of modernisation, de-Arabicisation and cultural Turkification took place.

This process of realism was assisted both by the development of science and technology, largely under German auspices; and a correct awareness of the larger world due to an *Appropriation* of Culture of the Scientific-Democratic Civilization. There were already translations from French authors in the 19th century by Ibrahim Shinasi and Namik Kemal. Between 1867-70 were founded many "modern" type educational institutions, which had many successors.

(d) In the Arab world the "modernization" process by the appropriation of science and technology and the development of a Scientific-Democratic administrative infra-structure started in Egypt early in the 19th century with Mehemet Ali. Cotton and rice cultivation, irrigation measures, engineering and medical schools, inter-change of scholars, especially French ones, were all inspired by him. The press at Bulaq brought out modern text-books and translations of French works. Rifaatal-Tahtawi (d. 1801)

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



pioneered the transmission of "Western" thought to the Arab world.

Said (1854-63) combated trade in Negro slaves, and gave concessions for the construction of a telegraph line, and of the Suez Canal.

In Iraq Midhat Pasha started modernizing the country in the 19th century.

Egypt and Sudan fell to the British in the 1880's, and Iraq and Palestine (then Arab) came under British control between 1918 and 1940, when Syria and Lebanon were under French control. This bred Nationalist Reassertion, the chief Resisters being the Egyptians, the Mahdi, Mustafa Kamil, and Sad Zaghlul.

It is only after the Second World War, and with oil-riches, that the process of modernisation of the Arab world is really beginning.

In the ideological sphere the spearhead of *Resistance* to "Western" ideas lay in the puritanical Wahhabi movement, which began in Saudi Arabia. The Egyptian Shaikh Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) who became the Rector of Al-Azhar, and the Mufti of Egypt, was for science and for the intellectual and spiritual rejuvenation of Islam. He interpreted Koranic passages to fit in with modern ideas and practices, thus liberalising the Egyptian mental climate. He was a pupil in all this of the Persian, Jamal-al-din Al-Afghani (1838-96). He was followed by Qasim Amin and others. The Indian, Saiyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98) tried a similar Koranic exegesis, but this method has its limitatons, as the experience of Ghulam Ahmad Parwiz in Pakistan shows.

The centre of cultural transformation was the Lebanon, as mentioned in Chapter 25. The "Modern" school was led by Butrus al-Bustani (1819-83). Learned magazines and daily newspapers advocating "modernism" was started by the Lebanese (descendants of the Phoenicians), with their wide trading, intellectual and humanitarian interests. *Al-Muqtataf* ("Choice Pieces"), *Al-Ahram* ("The Pyramids") and *Al-Hilal* ("The Crescent") were founded by the Lebanese, the last in 1892 by Jurji Zaydan, also a critical historian and historical novelist. The dramatist Marun-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



al-Naqqash was much influenced by French Romanticism. The influence of the Romantic-Mystic, Khalil Gibran, spread abroad also.

(e) In Persia there was British/French/Russian rivalry in the 19th century, which the Qajar dynasty took advantage of to retain Persian independence. Foreigners, however, controlled the economy and the tobacco industry became the monopoly of European capitalists. This led to opposition from the people, and to the Tobacco Revolt of 1890. Nevertheless, foreigners continued to exploit the country. In 1911-12 the American, W. Morgan Shuster, was the Treasurer-General, but he had to withdraw because of Russian opposition. But later, another American, Arthur C. Millspaugh (1922-27), reorganised and systematised the finances of the country under Reza Shah Pahlavi. Control of Iranian oil resources lay in foreign hands, and it was only in 1954 that oil could finally be nationalised.

Malkolm Khan, in the early 20th century, tried to introduce modern political ideas, but the Qajar rulers prevented the circulation of his Persian Journal, the London *Qanum* ("Law").

In the nineteenth century Mirza Taqi Khan and Reza Quli Khan encouraged polytechnics, but the effect was marginal. Technicalization began only with Shah Reza Shah Pahlavi after the 1st World War—roads, wireless stations, the trans-Persian railway from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian sea, etc. Reza Shah's son, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi Aryamehr, has continued the *appropriation* process on a grander and more ambitious scale, backed by oil-money.

On the educational and medical side various Christian missions, largely British and American, did useful work in the 19th century. Reza Shah Pahlavi sent students to Europe and America. A system of elementary and secondary education on modern lines was introduced. In 1935 the University of Teheran was modernised. The Persian heritage was now emphasised and a sign of this was Musa Hamadani's novel glorifying Cyrus, the Achaemenian.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



In the sphere of ideology Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani (1838-96) was for Pan-Islam, but he was also a modernist. Jamal thought that the Islamic states should modernise themselves by adopting Western science and technology and at the same time unite under a Khalif into an empire which could speak with Europe on equal terms.

On a more spiritual plane the Bab ("door") used the method of allegorical interpretation of Koranic passages to preach new mystic doctrines, which included the equality of sexes and the abolition of the veil and of ritual ablutions (1834). Babism became the rallying point for political, economic and social movements. The beautiful and poetically gifted young lady, Qurrat-al-Ayn, threw off the veil and started preaching in public, creating a sensation. When disturbances broke out, the Bab, and his followers, including Qurrat-al-Ayn, were executed (1850).

One of the Bab's successors, Baha-Allah ("Splendour of God"), preached a religion combining elements of Christianity, Sufism and Industrial-Democratic West European Liberal thought. The Bahai's are pacifists, believe in the brotherhood of man, and in a universal language. Bahaism has no place in Persia, but many centres abroad, including the head-quarters in the United States, at Wilmette, Illinois.

(f) Thus the nature of the response elsewhere in Asia has been broadly the same as in India, the variation in quality and intensity being due to differences in the configuration of forces. Configurational Dynamics is the only method of understanding what would otherwise be riddles of history.

China was foiled of proper development by foreign imperialist powers, including Japan, until their eclipse in the Second World War. By that time chaos and economic misery and Soviet help led to a transformation to a Communist society. Since then Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues have been trying to change the Consciousness ("Cultural revolution") of the Chinese people, in the way that Lenin and the Soviet rulers did in Russia.

In Japan, a Near Rational-Mercantile society governed by *samurais,* the transformation was fairly rounded, but

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



more in science and technology than in other spheres, specially in military technology and its industrial base. As Japan was Near Rational-Mercantile the change in Consciousness was almost automatic going along with technicalization, Buddhism and Shinto sliding into the sub-conscious. But state Shinto was a constraining force, the strength of which disappeared only after the American occupation after the Japanese defeat in the Second World War.

In the Arab world and in Persia modernisation really began after the First World War, although Egypt and the Lebanon knew it from early 19th century. The problem of changing the Consciousness is a very knotty one, as in Muslim-India and Pakistan, as it implies the sliding of the Koran into the sub-conscious, as the Bible has in modernised Christian societies. This solution was favoured by Mustafa Kemal in Turkey.

Like the Japanese the Imperial Turks have understood well problems of defence and have modernised their defence forces. Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues, after the defeat in the First World War and the discrediting of the former ruling classes, started modernising the country in all respects.

The Indian Sub-Continent, under Brahman and Quasi-Brahman and British political-administrative tutelage, has specialised in changes in ideology, literature and law and administration. But the ferment in ideas has not been strong enough to change the Consciousness. Defence-consciousness is weak, except in Pakistan, where soldiers, descendants of many waves of Warrior Nomads, bristle, and a garrison mentality reigns supreme.

The intensity of response has been different in different places and may now (in 1976) be put as follows :—

(i) Japan—Fully modernised; (ii) China—In the process of being fully modernised, including change of Consciousness; (iii) Lebanon/Turkey—Not fully modernised, but modernised to a great extent, the Lebanon more than Turkey; (iv) India, Pakistan, Egypt, Iran—Quasi-modernised; Iran forging fast ahead—as a liberal Shiah Islamic country, the sliding of religion to the sub-conscious

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



may well be more easy than in *Sunni* countries; (v) Rest of the Arab world—Rich with oil, but modernisation and the change of Consciousness still to come.

### T. Weakness of the Quasi-Modern in India: Pauranic Hinduism Inhibits Modernisation

In the tabloid in Section D of this chapter the main developments of this period, 1857-1947, have been indicated. They are recapitulated briefly below.

(i) *Science and Technology:*

Very slow reaction of the Indian Theo-Aristocrats/Near-Theocrats to the hustling tactics of men like Curzon. People in a Theocratic Stage (Stage 6) cannot appreciate the urge to science of a Scientific-Democratic stage (Stage 10). Besides, science and the scientific attitude would have destroyed the bases of Theocratic domination. Hence the reluctance of the cleverer among the elite to encourage science. The Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic people developed railways, roads, canals, light industries etc. for their own selfish reasons; but in the process India got a scientific-industrial infra-structure. The two World Wars hastened the process. But there were neither heavy industries nor defence industries.

The Parsees, with their craft background, understood the importance of science and technology right from the beginning of their association with the Rational-Mercantile/Scientific-Democratic peoples abroad. But not the *baniyas*, as did not the learned men, the Brahmans. The *baniyas* began to appreciate the returns from industry largely during and after the Second World War, although the Gujaratis learnt of the riches that cotton mills could give from the 1860's.

(ii) *Economics:*

The Rational-Mercantilists/Scientific-Democrats introduced modern methods of economic organisation—joint stock companies, Managing Agencies, foreign exchange banks etc. Curzon hustled in the beginnings of the public sector—Agriculture, Commerce and Industries Departments, Cooperative Societies etc. without either any great

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



demand for them from the educated elite, or much appreciation of the benefits they could bestow. Nationalist ideas permeated Indian economics from the end of the 19th century, largely due to the teachings of Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade and Gokhale. The Bengalis in the 1905 *Swadeshi* ("Home made") days, practised "Buy Indian" on a large scale. After the First World War the Indian *baniyas*, having tasted riches acquired from industry, became increasingly nationalist, and Mahatma Gandhi forged the Nationalist-*Baniya* Money-Power link, against British commercial interests. Indian monopolies also grew and competed with the British, though now and then they ganged up together for the exploitation of the Indian consumer. From the nineteen-twenties, fired by the Soviet model, Jawahar Lal Nehru preached economic planning, which he implanted on India, as Prime Minister, a generation later, helped by his friend, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis.

(iii) *Politics, Administration, Defence:*

The idea of Nationalism took root, inspired by Rational-Mercantile/Scientific-Democratic precepts and examples. The British, thinking of themselves in terms of Romans, concentrated on law and administration, specially after the 1857 upheavals. Jowett imbued the Indian Civil Service, largely a British governing corporation, with Plato's "Guardian" concept. James Wilson modernised the financial system, Mayo decentralised administration and Ripon introduced local self-government, all in the second half of the 19th century. Curzon left behind the repressive legacies of extensive political espionage and of police terrorism. All these aspects have remained, more or less unchanged in essentials.

As nationalism grew the rulers adopted *divide et impera* tactics, specially as between religious groups, and fanned the extant but dormant fires of "communalism". "Communalism" became entrenched in Indian life. There were many streams of nationalism—armed violence and terrorism, Gandhian non-violent civil disobedience, Leftist movements and strikes, all of which have come to stay.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Indians were kept totally in the dark in defence matters and the Indian educated elite, largely of Brahman and Kayastha provenance, took no interest in defence.

(iv) *Social Affairs:*

The promise of "Clemency" Canning, after the 1857-59 upheavals, that social affairs would not be meddled with, was kept. India became a stagnant pool of social obscurantism, as State inaction meant the continued domination of vested religious interests, of the Religious Establishment.

The classes which benefitted were the professionals and the intelligentsia, largely concentrated in towns, besides princes and zamindars. The ordinary people remained sunk in apathy and poverty.

(v) *Ideology:*

Christian, Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic ideas imbued Hinduism and Islam. Thus, Brahmoism, the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Vedantism, Dayananda's Anglo-Vedic Arya Samaj, Ranade's Active Hinduism suffused with *Bhakti* ideas, Saiyid Ahmad Khan's ideas on *wahy* and *Nechariya firqa,* Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's Qadiani Movement etc. But Neo-Hinduism made little headway against Pauranic Hinduism as it was not thoroughgoing enough. Annie Besant, Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru, and to a lesser extent, M. N. Roy, have injected humanism into the Indian mental climate, a humanism which they imbibed with Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic ideas.

(vi) *Culture* :

In literature the old Theocratic and Theo-Aristocratic themes gave away to "modern" ones—Romantic/Romantic-Nationalist or Reassertionist/Socio-Psychological/Realo-Idealist/Radical/Surrealist. In art the response was weaker, and in architecture it has been more or less pure copying. The response has been more vigorous in literature as the Brahmans, the Kayasthas, the Urdu-speaking gentlemen, all with literary traditions, belonged largely to the elite classes, while in art and architecture these elite classes were not so much involved traditionally. Tea, coffee, toast, eggs, "Western" style furniture, curtains, clothes, etc. have invaded even middle class homes.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



(vii) *Coverage :*

Like the Quasi-Bourgeois (Chapter 25), the "Modern" was also largely concentrated in the towns, and there mainly in the upper echelons, although it permeated all layers to some extent, specially during and after the Second World War. Hence, like the Quasi Bourgeois, "Modernism" in India is a veneer. It is "Quasi-Modern". This "Quasi-Modern" frame of mind cannot effect much change without a Change of Consciousness, i.e. a giving-up of Pauranic Hinduism. A stalemate has ensued.

(viii) *The inhibiting nature of Pauranic Hinduism :*

Pauranic Hinduism inhibits further progress, as brought out in the functional analysis below—

*Science and Technology*—belief in the *guru* and in faith, not in reason, inhibits rapid and spectacular scientific development. Science and technology are still largely a matter of rote learning and Going by the Book.

*Economics*—Caste, divinely allocated, inhibits mobility and puts a premium on routine and tradition. In economic development, one hereditary class, the *baniya,* is now at the top. The caste nature of Pauranic Hinduism contradicts *sarvodaya* or "welfare for all".

*Politics*—Pauranic Hinduism is for inequality, for the *homo hierarchicus,* and against democracy. Hence Radical rhetoric and action, based on Pauranic Hinduism, are at variance.

*Administration*—Due to caste ideas and practices civil administration is still largely a preserve, at the top levels, of Niyogi-type Brahmans, Kayasthas, Khatris etc. According to Pauranic Hinduism the boss is demi-god. This feeling, among subordinates and the boss, is not conducive to a modern type of efficiency. And the defence of India is largely restricted to certain territorial, caste and "ethnic" groups. All this is absolutely against Scientific-Democratic concepts and practices.

*Social Affairs*—Caste, subjugation of women, untouchability etc. are integral parts of Pauranic Hinduism. Hence,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



as in case of politics rhetoric and practices are at variance.

*Culture*—while "modern" themes beguile the leisure moments of the educated elite, the heart still lies with *Ram-Leela, Durga Puja,* various temple festivals etc. The "modernism" is only skin-deep.

*Ideology—Karma,* held in the sub-conscious, if not in the conscious, inhibits activity, encourages callousness and indifference to truth and to justice. So does the *Maya* concept, also largely held sub-consciously. Many members of the Indian elite are, more consciously, possessed with the belief that faith, not reason, is the key to human success, prosperity and happiness, that miracles, therefore take place; and that *godmen* and *gurus* are, therefore, the people to turn to.

So, unless Pauranic Hinduism is banished from our Consciousness we will not become a Scientific-Democratic people.

## U. Was Partition Natural?

So far we have treated the whole of South Asia as one. But in 1947 the Indian sub-continent was partitioned. Was this partition natural? What do configurational and functional analyses reveal?

Geographically the whole of South Asia is one, and foreign geographers treat it that way. For instance, O. H. K. Spate in his authoritative *India and Pakistan* (London, 1954), deals with the whole of India, Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon together. Afghanistan is a divide, having relations with Central Asia, Iran and the Indian sub-continent. Geographically its links are perhaps closest with the Indian sub-continent, and it has been so historically and culturally also. Most of the people are *Pathans,* descendants of *Pakthas,* a tribe mentioned in the *Rig-Veda.* South Asia is thus one, because of the mountain and sea walls surrounding it.

It is also one vis-a-vis foreign powers, i.e. in external relations. Whenever powerful foreigners have gained a footing in India, e.g. Aryans, Turks, Mughals, British, the rest of India fell to them by and by. Henry Kissinger's

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



domino theory is thus fully applicable. The Aryans, Turks and Mughals came from the North West, the British by the sea, and up the Indo-Gangetic valley. It does not matter from which side invaders come, the domino theory of external affairs and defence would apply.

In internal relations South Asia has been a microcosm of the world. Many peoples, of different skin-colour, height, nose shape, head shape, and stage of civilization have got mixed up behind the Mountain-and-Sea wall, and continued to live cheek-by-jowl. Naturally the relationship was basically one of peace and tolerance, (leaving out princely and baronial squabbles), marred by occasional emotional outbursts.

Past Tradition also weighs the Present and the Future heavily towards Unity. Ashoka, Akbar and the British unified most of India, and Afghanistan was included in the empires of the Mauryas and of the Mughals.

Let us analyse the matter functionally.

Science and technology have always been international. They do not enter into the picture at all.

During the period of British Rational-Mercantile/Scientific-Democratic dominance the country became closely one from the communications angle—modern roads, railways, telegraph, wireless etc., putting the seal to the economic unity which existed behind the Mountain-and-Sea Wall. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Ceylon complement each other in economics. Obviously Nature has made the whole of South Asia to be an Economic Zone, a Free Trade Area Zone, a Zone of Common Co-prosperity.

In defence, external affairs and politics the domino theory applies. If South Asia is one and militarily strong it would be well-nigh impossible for any super-power to control it.

In social affairs the area has always had a common characteristic—a microcosm of the world behind a Mountain-and-Sea Wall.

Ideologically, the Brahmans by their syncretism, 4th century A. D. onwards, made the area one, except the North-West, East Bengal and Simhala (Ceylon) which

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



continued to be Buddhist. When Islam came to the North West and to East Bengal the egalitarian Buddhists became Muslims without much demur.

Culturally, the area has a unity and internal differences shade off gradually. Food, dress, music, ethnology, the racial mix, all vary but the totality has a unity, distinctively South Asian (*Janubi* Asian, separate from West Asia, South-East Asia, China, Japan etc.)

Thus the over-riding fact is that the entity is one behind the Mountain-and-Sea Wall. In Vincent Smith's famous phrase, it has "unity in diversity". And the configuration of world forces is bound to make the whole area one, in some form or other, sooner or later. Various alternatives are possible :—

*Alternative I :* All the component parts, specially India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, come to some sort of settlement —specially in the political, economic, external affairs, and defence fields.

*Alternative II :* One part overpowers the others and imposes a unity—Pax Afghanica, or Pax Pakistanica or Pax Indica or Pax Nepalica or Pax Bangladeshica or Pax Simhalica. Any of the numerically smaller powers may achieve this if it has overwhelmingly superior weaponry, as has happened in India in the past.

*Alternative III :* India becomes another Vietnam. The superpowers fight it out here through client-states, testing weapons, giving their military experts and soldiers battle experience. After decades of fighting one of the superpowers triumphs through its client state.

*Alternative IV :* Same as in III but the ultimate end is direct control by a super-power.

*Alternative V :* A variant of Alternative III—several super-powers have their client states, an amplification of the Korean situation.

*Alternative VI :* The present uneasy and unsettled conditions continue as a Fact of Life.

*Alternative VII :* The whole sub-continent breaks down to bits.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Not all of these alternatives lend themselves to stability. Alternative VII is unstable, it will mean the interference of super-powers and so to one of the Alternatives—III, IV or V. II and IV would be unstable as the feeling of nationalism is strong, and has come to stay all over the world as the Liberty Principle. So II, IV and VII are not solutions. Nor is VI, which by definition is unstable. And, the configuration of world forces is such that an uneasy peace will not be allowed to continue for long in a week and divided South Asia. As soon as a generally acceptable leader like Mrs Indira Gandhi departs from the scene the super-powers will step in to ensure that no new leader of such stature emerged. And the super-powers will fight it out among themselves (Alternative III above). So the only three alternatives are—

I—Agreement between the component units of South Asia (*Janubi Asia*).

III—A super-power controls South Asia through a client state.

V—Several super-powers have their client states, an amplification of the Korean situation.

As a civilizationologist one would say that Alternative V is also unlikely to be stable in South Asia. Just now Iran and the Arabs are not super-powers, nor is Japan. Logistics is against America, unless this adverse effect is neutralised by immense superiority in weapons vis-a-vis Russia—very much more than in Viet-nam. As between China and Russia the logistics favour Russia—entry via Afghanistan while the Chinese will have to enter via Tibet, Nepal and Sikkim. Entry via Szechuan, Yunnan, Burma and Bangladesh is also possible. But the North-West route is militarily easier. But if Burma falls to China, a base can be built there and thrusts up the Gangetic Valley, like those of the British, would be feasible. In the long run V would tend to slide to III, as is likely to be the case ultimately in Korea also.

If V then is unstable then the Alternatives are between I and III—between mutual agreement to establish South Asia (*Janubi* Asia) ; and functioning as the client state

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of a super power. Can there be any doubt which alternative is preferable?

According to the revelations of Vol. V of the *Constitutional Relations between Britain and India: The Transfer of Power: 1942-47—The Simla Conference: Background and Proceedings—September* 1, 1944—*July* 28, 1945 (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1975) although the Hindu and Muslim leaders were fully aware of the wider implications, specially in defence, none of the points covering common links were explored, and they concentrated only on partition and the seizure of power from the departing British. South Asians have paid and will pay more heavily in future for this, unless the situation is set right in the very near future.

The above analyses give answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this Section.

—South Asia is one, but the special ideo-cultural position of the five peripheral areas—four formerly Buddhist, three of which were converted to Islam—has to be realised.

—Partition of India, without the establishment of common links, was unnatural.

—If we do not come to terms with each other in the area, South Asia (or *Janubi* Asia) will become a cockpit among super-powers as Vietnam was.

—And the ultimate solution then may be a unity imposed by an outside power through a client state.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 27

# CHANGE IN INDIAN CIVILIZATON— THE PAN-INDIAN PICTURE

## Stages of Civilization and Consciousness

All the preceeding pages go to show that India has never been static. It has been full of change, and the changes can be categorised, as in the rest of the world, into ten Stages of Civilization, each with its own Consciousness. Stage I was of Food Gatherers and Primitive Hunters. It existed all over India, for at least 25,000 years, and was widespread till about 5000 years ago, since when it has been steadily giving place to Stage 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists). It still exists in some parts of India. Its Consciousness, Consciousness I, was—peaceful, friendly, amiable (all in a comparative way), communistic, low level of organisational ambition, slip-shod, happy with daily routines and old traditions.

Stage II—was of Advanced Hunters, confined mainly to Gujarat and Central India, whence it spread to the Deccan. It entered India about 15,000 years ago, and continued for over 11,000—12,000 years. Consciousness II is characterised by organised violence against animals and "out-groups", but otherwise by laziness and hospitableness.

Stage III—Matrifocal Agriculture, peasant villages, spread out all over India from the 4th millennium B. C. and is still extant today. Its Consciousness, Consciousness III Earth bound, tied to many rituals and superstitions prescribing the details of daily life, plodding, back-breaking work, rigid adherence to traditions.

Stage IV—Early Technologists, constituted a thin layer. Consciousness IV was wide-ranging, prospecting, with rule of—thumb innovations, and esoteric attitude to knowledge. Growing out of Matrifocal Agriculturists, by separating from it, it was anti-feminine. Only small groups came to India (from Iran), and spread out thin.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The tendency, therefore, was for monopoly of knowledge and its conservation. Absence of competition also made them conservative. The higher groups, priest-engineers, became basically priests—*Brahmans*. The lower groups remained artisans.

Stage V—that of Warrior Nomad Rulers, is represented by Aryans, Shakas and Kushans, Gujars and White Huns, Turks and Mughals. Consciousness V embraced war as a way of life; it was full of daring, of organised violence, of strict Codes of Honour, of loyalty to in-groups to death, of lavishness. Mixed with a 'theo' element it unified large areas, including the whole of India, twice.

It was, in point of Time, preceded by Stage VI—Theo-Technocracy or Priest-Engineers, the Indus Valley Civilization from the 4th millennium B.C. to about 1800 B.C. It included the whole of North West India, Gujarat, Saurashtra with spurs outwards. Consciousness VI was characterised by—exclusive monopoly of knowledge by the priestly group, knowledge born of out of rule of thumb methods, still enmeshed in extra-logical mythopoeia, a mixture of "cow-dung and pearls" (term applied by al-Beruni to Hindu Science in the 12th century A.D.), and exploitation of the credulity of the simple, peaceful masses.

Then came Stage VIIA, the First Theo-Aristocratic (Aryo-Hindu), from 1000 B.C. to 1200 A.D., during the last years of which fiexibility ended due to the dead-weight of tradition. As the 'Aristocrats' (*Kshatriyas*) committed suicide by continuous in-fighting, this Stage became Near-Theocratic. Consciousness VIIA was an amalgam of V (Warrior-Nomad) and VI (Theocratic), the latter coming to predominate.

With growing trade and urbanism Stage VIII (Theo-Mercantile) evolved. It existed from about the 7th century B.C. to the 9th century A.D., co-existing and intersecting with the Theo-Aristocratic, to which it ultimately yielded, basically because of trade passing away to Arabs and Persians, leaving Indians to manage a largely land-based economy. Its Consciousness, Consciousness VIII, was still a 'theo' one, but it was modified by the mercantile ethos.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



It was simpler, more rational, more humane, and it patronised liberal and thrift-encouraging religions like Buddhism and Jainism.

Stage VIIB, Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic, came to India in two phases, those of the Turks (1200-1500 A.D.), and of the Mughals (1500-1700 A.D.). Consciousness VIIB was basically the same as that of VIIA (Aryo-Hindu), although the details differed widely, as we have seen in Chapter 21. And we have seen in Chapter 22 that the Buddhist Theo-Mercantile and the Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile were basically nearer each other in Consciousness than was the former to the Aryo-Hindu Theo-Aristocratic and the latter to Turko-Persian Theo-Aristocratic.

Stage VIIC, the Sikh Theo-Aristocratic, 15th-19th century A.D., was confined to North West India. Its Consciousness was much like that of VIIB (Muslim-Indian), but more martial, a heritage of the Republican Aryo-Indian warriors with amalgam of other foreign and native warriors (*jata*—bound together—later Jats).

The Maratha Reassertion was that of the old Hindu Theo-Aristocratic Stage VIIA.

Both Marathas and Sikhs had absorbed much of Mughal etiquette and culture, including Mughal civil and revenue administration.

West Asian Christian Theo-Mercantilism interacted with the Indian Theo-Aristocratic in Kerala to give the Syrian Christian community. The Portuguese Theo-Mercantile, by a similar interaction, gave the Goans to India. And, other West European Christian Theo-Mercantile and other Stage groups, the Indian Christians.

The British Rational-Mercantilists conquered India in the 18th century. And a veneer of the civilization of the new Stage, Stage IX (Rational-Mercantile) was spread over India, initially in Bengal, by hustlers symbolised by Bentinck, Dalhousie etc., with the help of Indian co-operators like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar etc. In Consciousness IX, the "Theo" element of the "Theo-Mercantile" was weakened still further. It was rational, urbane, sensuous, humanist, restrained ("Classic"), and aristocracy was still admired.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Stage IX, in West Europe and elsewhere, gave place, by the combination of Rationalism, Experimentation and Craftsmanship/Artisanry to the Scientific-Democratic Stage, Stage X. Its Consciousness, Consciousness X, is characterised by innovation and change as a way of life; large-scale application of science for the benefit of all; democratic, hence also "romantic"; because of scientific and democratic attitude also feminist. Stage X was introduced to India by private British technocracy, the "Managing Agents", the rulers being still largely Rational-Mercantile. (C.P. Snow's thesis of the "Two Cultures"). It was extended by the pressure and hustling tactics of Curzon, who also laid the foundations of the public sector in India. The force of necessity, the two World Wars, pushed India further along the path of industrialisation and democratisation. None of these were sought for by Indian Theo-Aristocrats in any strident manner. They were inhibited in doing so by tradition, specially the Hindus, who were absorbed in the daily rituals and ceremonies of Pauranic Hinduism, a syncretism embracing elements from all Stages of Civilization. Later, Jawahar Lal Nehru imposed economic planning, Vedantic humanism, political democracy and feminism, using his hold on the credulous masses as a charismatic Brahman, the spiritual disciple of the god-man, Mahatma Gandhi. The veneer of Scientific-Democracy is thinner, therefore, than that of Rational-Mercantilism ("Bourgeoism").

## Changes Function by Function

1. *Science and Technology:*

Among Food-Gatherers and Primitive Hunters technology was weak. Tools were used collectively. Weaponry was for hunting, not for fighting. The Advanced Hunters developed weaponry for organised communal hunting of big animals. While the men went out hunting, practical-minded, intelligent females experimented and increased food-supply, by slash-and-burn hoe agriculture. As animal supplies decreased women became the main economic providers, in the Matrifocal Agriculturist Stage. They invented basket-making, pottery, cooking, fermen-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



tation, spinning and weaving. But males got the upper hand in Stage IV—the Early Technologists, with their plough agriculture (too heavy for women), wheel, wheeled transport, calendar for agricultural purposes, orchard husbandry, bricks for building, sail boats etc. All these implied whole-time work, to which women, with their constant pregnancies and whole-time house-keeping, were not attuned. In India the priest-engineers came next with inundation irrigation techniques through small dams, city construction, drainage arrangements, weights and measures etc. Medicine and astronomy were developed.

The North Western economy, producing a surplus, was seized by bands of warrior-nomads, using bronze and iron weapons, war chariots drawn by horses, war-horses, tents, wagons, leather bags, milk and dairy products.

In Stage VIIA (Aryo-Hindu Theo-Aristocratic) the use of bellows led to a large scale production of iron for tools and weapons and the heavily-forested Gangetic and other river valleys were conquered. Advances were made in medicine, astronomy and mathematics. But at the end the heavy burden of tradition decreed that there would be no questioning of the preceptor. Hence scientific and technological advance ended.

The Buddhists (Stage VIII) developed logic and medicine and invented the great democratic and useful sign of zero.

The Muslim-Indians themselves invented and discovered nothing but imported into India the heritage of thousands of years of West Asian effort—paper, book-production, damascene, enamelling, ceramics, carpet weaving, marble inlaying, *papier mache,* blankets, shawls, copper utensils, tailored clothes etc.

The Rational-Mercantilists and their followers like the Derozeans popularised science. The former introduced railways and the electric telegraph.

With the Scientific-Democrats came coal, iron and steel and light engineering and plantation industries. World Wars I & II stimulated appropriation of "Western" technology, mainly to feed the war machine. Since In-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



dependence there has been a good deal of scientific and technical development, owing more to the enthusiasm, push and craftiness of individuals rather than to any state perspective or planning.

2. *Economics:*

Food-Gatherers—Food Gathering and Primitive Hunting, by men and women alike. Communistic, trade and barter weak. Large extended families ("joint families") are the units of production and consumption.

The Advanced Hunters engaged in trade and fairs and barter as most goods which they required were not produced by them.

In Stage III (Matrifocal Agriculture) we have the Economic Matriarchate, small scale intimate operations, within the eye-sight of the "Mothers". The economy was organised in peasant villages and in village communities, and trade was conducted by women.

The Early Technologists included pedlars, artisans, travelling smiths and craftsmen.

The Indusian priest-engineers organised society on the basis of *jatis* or economic functions, including merchants. They had granaries and buffer stocks and traded both internally and with West Asia.

The Warrior Nomads had their economy based on pastoralism, trade, raids, robbery. The clans and tribes were the units for production, raids etc.

The Aryo-Indian economy was "feudal", with the largely Adivasi *shudras* as helots. The Mauryas controlled the economy, tried out grandiose Virgin Lands Schemes, settling them with *Adivasis* by force. A free economy came with their successors, specially the Guptas. The *shudras* became tillers, especially in the new lands granted to the Brahmans for colonisation—the *agrahara* and *brahmadeya* lands.

In the Theo-Mercantile stage the common Aryan, the *vish,* already became a *vaishya,* or trader. The rich trader was a *shresthi* ("most superior man", later *seth*), and trade and artisan guilds (*shrenis*) were organised. The caravaneers were the *vanijyakaras* (later, *banjaras*).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The economic base of Stage VIIB (Muslim-Indian), and of the Sikhs and the Marathas were basically the same as that of the Hindu-Indians. The Muslim-Indians refined the tax-assessment and collection system (Sher Shah/ Todar Mal). *Karkhanas* (factories) produced luxury goods for the rulers and the nobles.

The British Rational-Mercantilists ("Bourgeois") made land a strictly saleable commodity and land relations were secularised and mercantilised. Machine made goods led to handicraftsmen going to the wall. Roads, railways, posts and telegraphs and *Pax Britannica* helped trading groups, like the Marwaris, Gujaratis, Sindhis, Chettiyars, Khatris, Parsees etc. The Parsees, with their artisan traditions, took to textile manufacture, ship-building etc. The abolition of slavery led to mobility of labour.

India was economically connected to the world, specially after the opening of the Suez Canal (1869). Joint stock companies, modern management, modern banking etc. were introduced by British private technocracy. The two World Wars induced Indian industrial participation. British and Indian monopolies grew up, sometimes co-operating, mostly in conflict. But neither heavy industries nor defence industry came into existence.

Intellectuals like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, the Bengal *Swadeshists* clamoured for economic growth. Curzon made a beginning in the public sector, largely on the agricultural side. (co-operative credit, banks etc.).

After Independence a heavy industry base came with the adoption of the Nehru-Mahalanobis model, inspired by Soviet planning; and the foundations of a defence industry were laid by V. K. Krishna Menon.

3. *Family and Social Organisation:*

Among Food Gatherers men and women are equal. Both have freedom of choice in marriage, and descent reckoning is bilateral. There is practical monogamy and extra-marital relations are frowned upon, though pre-marital relations are allowed.

In the Big Game Hunting Stage women became inferior, and freedom of marriage was allowed to boys only.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Totem and clan-groups arose, dead-set against "out-groups".

But in the Matrifocal Agricultural Stage women were pre-eminent. Women arranged marriages. There were visit marriages, men visiting women, as in the case of the Nairs. There was complete reversion in the case of the Khasis and Garos, the bridegroom going to live in the house of the bride and the mother-in-law. Girls actively arranged their own marriages. Pre-marital sex relations were allowed, but public initiation ceremonies were reserved for girls only, on first menstruation. Boys and men took recourse to secret societies and to head-hunting to prove their importance. There was mother-right, and property, movable and immovable, was vested in women.

The Early Technologists, wandering people, were anti-feminine, having escaped from a society where women were pre-eminent.

In Indusian India the influence of the matrilineal system was still strong among the Brahman rulers. They created a caste system, based on economic functions and on the theory of the amount of psychic energy (*teja shakti*) in each *jati* (economic caste) ; the highest was in Brahmans—*Brahma-teja* or *Brahma-shakti*. But descent-reckoning was matrilineal.

The Warrior Nomads were patriarchal, and lived in extended households ("joint families"). Double standards of sexual morality prevailed—laxity for males, while in women virginity was prized. Women were treated with gallantry, but were held to be inferior. Society was class divided—aristocrats (warriors and priests/prophets), commoners, serfs or slaves, each with special insignias and codes of honour.

The Aryo-Indians inherited from their Warrior Nomad ancestors a four-fold *varna* theory (Brahmans/Kshatriyas /Vaishyas/Shudras) and married it to the Indusian *jati* system. The *varna-jati* system was, however, not quite effective in New Ground areas like the South, Maharashtra, Kashmir and Bengal. The old Aryan *Kshatriyas* largely killed each other off. The new Kshatriyas were an amalgam of old Kshatriyas, other warlike foreigners and fight-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ing Adivasis. The common Aryans, the *vish,* became traders, the *vaishyas.* The largely Adivasi *Shudras* came to be peasants and artisans. *Jatis* proliferated, like the administrative *Kayasthas.* Women were gradually degraded, and Manu is full of tirades against them.

The Theo-Mercantile Buddhists were against caste. Many traders, artisans, displaced Adivasis became Buddhists. But the Buddhists were not involved in domestic rituals like birth, marriage, death etc., which were left to Brahmans. On regression and Hinduisation the Buddhists were relegated to the ranks of what are now "Scheduled Castes". In the peripheral areas, North-West and East Bengal, they became Muslims.

The Muslim-Indians believed in *purdah* (veil), marriage among equals (*kufw*), nobility (*sharafat*) theory etc.

The Bourgeois British abolished slavery, *thuggee, suttee* etc. and enabled widows to re-marry. New classes grew up, professional men, clerks etc.

The Scientific-Democrats introduced the concept of social change by law. Professional classes, specially lawyers, became important. Tradesmen and *baniyas* became richer and richer under *Pax Britannica.* Urbanisation increased to only about 12%, but it had great catalytic effect. After the 1857-59 military-political upheavals "Clemency" Canning reversed the policy of Government initiative in social reforms and this principle has more or less continued under the subterfuge of "Secular Society".

4. *Politics/Administration/Military Affairs etc.:*

In the Stage of Food Gatherers rule is by elders or *gerontocracy.* The mechanism is the council or *panchayat.* The chief is only the *primus inter pares.* There is neither aristocracy nor slavery. Nor effective arrangements for offence or defence.

In the Stage of Advanced Hunters chiefs arose, but elders were still powerful. The kin were responsible for law; the system of blood feuds and vendettas arose.

In the Matrifocal Agricultural stage administrative power lay in women. Executive power lay either with the women (Khasis, Garos); or with the men (Nair

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*tharawads*), acting under the supervision of the women.

In the Indusian Civilization the rulers were priests. It was weak in weaponry and in the warrior element.

The Warrior Nomads had war guards and war leaders—*rajanyas/umrah* etc. The leaders had more authority in war-time than in peace. Their powers were circumscribed by councils, *sabhas, samitis, jirgahs* etc. Justice was class based.

The Theo-Aristocrats (Aryo-Hindus) had joint *Kshatriya-Brahman* rule. War was a Way of life with the Kshatriyas, new waves were absorbed, and they maintained Aryo-Indian cultural independence. The *janapadas* gave way to Maurya centralisation. But this was more than sustainable in the huge country in the state of communications then extant and feudalism (*samanta* rule), with temporary empires became the pattern. Niyogi Brahmans and Kayasthas provided the civil service. The Aryo-Indian ruling classes disarmed the rest of India effectively (the *Drona-Ekalavya syndraome*). Again and again foreigners could punish India because of the *Drona-Ekalavya* syndrome, but the elite preferred to be ruled by foreigners rather than arm their own "lower classes".

Ashoka, the Buddhist, tried to inject humanity (*dhamma*) into the hitherto ruthless and harsh State policies.

The Muslim-Indians kept to the same basic system but introduced many West Asian ideas and practices—check and balances, transfer of officials, district organization, standing army and civil service, training, record-keeping etc. Justice tilted in favour of the Muslims against *Kafirs* on matters like evidence.

The British Bourgeois "modernised" the administrative system and introduced the principle of equality before law. The press which was introduced was free. The roots of Nationalism were planted, and agitational methods in politics taught by liberal men.

The Scientific-Democrats disarmed India effectively after the 1857-59 political-military upheavals, an extension to the Indian elite of their own *Drona-Ekalavya syndrome*. A Mandarinate, the Indian Civil Service, was brought into

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



existence, a generalist Governing Corporation looking after British interests and acting as "Guardians" of the people (*ma-baap*), on the concepts of the Han Chinese, Plato and Benjamin Jowett, and modified by Indian Theo-Aristocratic *zamindari* practices. The Scientific-Democrats also created lower provincial services and specialist services, decentralised administration, introduced local self-government and modern financial management, and codified law extensively. Nationalism took deep root—petitions and memorials, terrorism and armed violence, Gandhist non-cooperation and civil disobedience, Leftist strikes, propaganda abroad. To counter all this Curzon introduced a political intelligence system and a tradition of police repression, which were inherited.

5. *Ideology:*

The Food Gatherers believed in a moral and just Supreme Being. The universe was full of spirits. A psychic or spiritual energy pervaded it, and each object had its own differing spiritual or psychic voltage. They believed in reincarnation. They had shamans, priestesses as well as priests. The deity had no image. They believed in myths, in magic, in totemism, in ideas of pollution (due to differing psychic energies) and in *taboo*.

The Advanced Hunters believed in animal magic, in addition to the beliefs of the Food-Gatherers. Animals played a large part in their rituals.

The Matrifocal Agriculturists reasoned thus—the Earth is fertile, yielding crops/women are fertile, yielding children/women have periods/moon has periods—so Earth, Moon and Woman are inter-connected. Woman was in the centre of religion. The chief deity was the Mother Goddess. There were village goddesses and functional goddesses. There were fertility rites with bloody sacrifices, the blood standing for the menstrual flow. Menstrual blood was feared and dreaded by men. Megaliths and sacrificial pillars represented phalli, fertilising Mother Earth. The Moon was connected with Woman, so there was a Moon Cult. The horns of a cow were like the crescent moon. So a cow cult grew up. Also, themes of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



birth, death and resurrection after a period underground, like the grain sown in Mother Earth, which grew, was reaped, and was sown again.

The Early Technologists presumably had a Technician-Deity, like Tvashtr, the proto-Brahma. But in the Indusian Civilization they had to concede the importance of goddesses. They created a syncretism of deities of all stages of civilization—proto-Brahma ; Shiva, the deity of the hunters ; the river goddesses—Lakshmi, Saraswati, Durga. There were priests and priestesses (*apsarases*). Religious philosophy and techniques were created—*yoga, tapas, mantras, tantras.*

The Warrior Nomads came with their Nature-Deities, hero cults, *shaman*-type priests, open air altars. They had no idols, and hated the fertility and phallic cults, considering them obscene. The head of the family was the priest.

The Aryo-Indians initially gave central place to the sun cult (*Gayatri mantra*) ; their sacrifices (*yajnas*) were to Nature deities. Coming into contact with Adivasis they began to question the existence of the Nature deities and their philosophers came to believe in the Psychic Energy Pool (*Brahman*) pervading the Universe, and in equating the individual soul (*atman*) with it. This, along with belief in the reincarnation theory, gave rise to the doctrine of *Karma,* rebirth and sorrow and happiness in this life according to merits and demerits in past ones. Later on, Brahmans, entrenched in the countryside, repeated the feat of their Indusian ancestors and created a syncretism of the beliefs of all Stages—Pauranic Hinduism. One can choose one's components from this, and the choice can vary and be flexible. *Bhakti,* or intense devotionalism, arose in the South and spread Northwards.

The Theo-Mercantile gave rise to humane, liberal, pacific faiths like Buddhism and Jainism.

Fertility cults permeated some practices of Later Hinduism and Later Buddhism.

The Muslim-Indians had a ready-made faith which Pauranic Hinduism could not absorb. Akbar's *Din-Ilahi,* a transmutationist new creed, was a failure. Indian Is-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



lam, was guarded, intolerant, deeply contemptuous of infidels, against all innovation, the tone being set by the 16th century Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, a religious genius, whose ideas were basically endorsed by Shah Waliullah in the 18th century. But there was some ambivalence towards Hinduism in Shah Waliullah. In this he was in the line of liberal Sufis, and of Akbar and Dara Shikoh.

Sikhism, beyond Hinduism and Islam, is an active religion, symbolised by ideas of *dharam* (discipline), *gyan* (knowledge), *karam* (activity) and *sach khand* (blissful state); the *langar* (common kitchen) and Guru Govind Singh's *khalsa* ("The Pure").

The interaction with the British Bourgeois led to a Christianised, Vedantic Hinduism, Brahmoism. But this became exclusive and restricted to affluent circles, largely Bengali professional classes.

A more popular version of Brahmoism was the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Vedantism during the Scientific-Democratic period of British rule. Ranade tried to base an Active Hinduism on the *Bhakti* cult. Saiyid Ahmad Khan tried Koranic exegesis to re-construct Islam, as did Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, to a much lesser extent Iqbal, and in the post-1947 era, in Pakistan, Ghulam Ahmad Parwez; Dayananda created an Arya Samaj by Vedic exigesis, with limited success. Annie Besant followed Helena Blavatsky in creating a new religion, with a Hindu philosophic base —Theosophy. Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi preached humanism, mixed up with taboos and fads in the case of the Mahatma. Aurobindo preached a syncretism of Shaktaism, Upanishads, Darwin, Nietzsche and Bergson. Nehru's Vedantism was muted, and he preached, in essence, Liberal Humanism. M. N. Roy was an atheist, who preached Radical Humanism. None of these transmutationists have had effect on the hold of Pauranic Hinduism, with its rich imagery, rituals and superstitions, largely possibly because India is overwhelmingly illiterate, and so, generally, outside the Life of Reason.

6. *Culture:*

There is such an *embarrassement de richesse* under the head "culture" that only the key-notes will be men-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



tioned, with some illustrations in certain cases.

In the Food Gathering Stage there was equality of sexes. Both men and women participated in merry-making and created proverbs, legends and folk tales.

The Advanced Hunters had totem and taboo ideas. The male was superior and only males acted. They created "Cave art".

In the matrifocal Agriculturist, women's role and feminine themes were important. There were masked fertility plays and women artists.

In the Indus River Valley Civilization religion coloured seals, sculptures (the sacred bull, terra-cotta figurines) and architecture (the Great Bath).

The Warrior Nomads, outside war, were generous, hospitable, pleasure-seeking. Both men and women joined in common merriment. There were drinking halls, bards, minstrels, carousing, story-telling, jousts, tournaments, horse racing, games of chance like dicing.

The arts and literature of the Aryo-Hindu Theo-Aristocratic were overwhelmingly religious and courtly. It was less religious, more aristocratic in the Muslim-Indian Theocratic. And the Sikh Theocratic was more democratic.

The Theo-Mercantile Buddhists allied aestheticism and a certain democracy with religion. Thus, in the Northern Black Polished Ware, in the use of local *patois* like Pali, in the *stupa toranas* (gateways) full of sculptures from life, in cave paintings like those of Ajanta (the caves were shrines as well as hostelry for the caravaneers, the *vanijyakaras*), in the *jataka* tales, dealing with common people. Anti-Establishment, the Buddhists won popular support by preaching against animal sacrifices, drinking etc. And their injunctions against cow slaughter, their vegetarianism and their teetotalism were absorbed by the Brahmans to such an extent that people have forgotten their origin.

Culture took on Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic hues stimulated by the British Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic, as we have seen in Chapters 25 and 26.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



## Legacies

Thus, India has been full of change, as summarised above, a distillation of the treatment from chapter 5 to 26. But all the traditions have not died. Indeed, in the Indian *cul de sac* much has survived, as the citation below shows. And, as also shown below, certain lacunae have had baleful effect.

*Food-Gatherers:* Pacifism, a certain slip-shodness; the idea of a spiritual energy pervading the entire Universe and within all objects; the idea of differing spiritual or psychic, strengths of different objects; ideas of pollution, taboo, and reincarnation or transmigration of souls.

*Advanced Hunters:* India was more or less by-passed by the Big Game Hunting Civilization. Hence, traditions of organised violence, martial virtues, strong in-group fighting feelings, desire for improving weaponry etc. have been relatively weak.

*Matrifocal Agriculturists:* In India cereal cultivation and the peasant-village system did not develop *sui generis* because of the absence of wild cereals, dense forests and sparse population. It came to most places along with Theo-Technicians (Priest-Engineers) and Warrior Aristocrats. Hence matrifocal values and institutions have been distorted but is still in evidence everywhere, e.g. *Holi* (a Saturanalia, basically fertility celebrations), worship of village goddesses, Shakti and Tantra cults, and matrilineal socio-economic systems in *culs-de-sac* like Kerala, the Khasi Hills and the Garo Hills until recently.

*Early Technologists:* The higher groups, priest-engineers, became Brahmans. The Warrior-Aristocrat Aryans also brought their artisans, who worshipped Vishwakarma. Later, the non-Brahman artisans (the engineers had become Brahmans) grouped themselves into the Buddhist *shrenis*. But with the regression of Theo-Mercantile Civilization into Theo-Aristocratic the position of the artisans fell, specially as most of them had apparently turned Buddhist. They were given low positions in the caste scale. Later, many must have turned Muslim.

*Warrior Nomads:* Fighting groups like Rajputs, Jats, Pathans etc. come of Warrior-Nomad stock. The original

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Kshatriyas* more or less wiped each other out, except for Republicans, who were incorporated among the Jats. All became mixed up heavily with fighting Adivasis, through polygamy and concubinage. The Maratha fighting tradition may have begun with the Shakas, organising a tough peasantry,*ci-devant* hunters, on a hard land. The Warrior-Nomads did not infiltrate into India in large numbers, which accounts for the relative lack of martial traditions in India compared to areas like Europe and Japan which bristled with soldiers and pirates. The 'theo' element and *la dolce vita* (The Soft and Easy Life) in a land full of docile servants (out of Food Gatherers ultimately) diluted the martial virtues of the descendants of the Warrior Nomads.

*Theo-Technocrats of the Indus Civilization :* Brahmans ; *jati* Structure ; pollution idea, Untouchability ; many important goddesses of the Hindu pantheon ; Shiva ; Brahma ; *yoga, tapas, mantras, tantras.* Weights and measures. Irrigation techniques.

*Aryo-Hindu Theo-Aristocrats :* the core of Hindu-Indian Civilization.

*Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocrats :* A good deal of administrative and revenue arrangements ; *bhakti* cults were influenced by *sufi* ideas and practices ; much art and architecture ; very much of music ; many food items and refinement in daily living.

*Sikh-Indian Theo-Aristocratic :* Sikhism and the Sikh martial tradition.

*Theo-Mercantile Buddhists and Jains :* Vegetarianism, prohibition of cow slaughter, teetotalism ; much logic and many Buddhist ideas were absorbed by Hindu *pandits,* even of the stature of men like Shankara.

*British Rational-Mercantile and British Scientific-Democratic :* The "Bourgeois" and "Modern" veneers respectively, still in the process of spreading and going deep.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 28

# CHANGE IN INDIAN CIVILIZATION— THE REGIONAL PICTURES

## A. General

The "Nuclear Regions", from the geographical viewpoint, have been given in Chapter 4. Making adjustments for what has happened in history, the following regionalisation for the purpose of this chapter, would be appropriate—

(i) Udichya ("North")—Indus Valley and beyond, excluding Kashmir. (ii) Kashmir. (iii) Madhya Desha ("Middle Country")—Upper and Middle Gangetic Valley and the Malava (Malwa) Uplands. (iv) Prachya ("East")—Ganges Delta, Assam, Orissa. (v) Paschatya ("West")—Rajasthan, Gujarat. (vi) Maharashtra ("Great State")—the Black Soil Upland and the northern portion of Aparanta ("Setting Sun region") from south of Diu-Daman to Goa and Karwar. (vii) Dakshinatya ("South")—Southern Peninsula, including the southern portion of Aparanta.

Dandakaranya (North Eastern Deccan Upland), Kirata-desha (Himalayan fringe) and Purva Parvatya (North Eastern Hills), relatively sparsely populated, are left out of this treatment. So are the peripheral areas, cultural associates of political India—Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, and Ceylon.

What has been stated in Chapter 27 for the functions of Science and Technology, Economics, Politics & Administration, Social Affairs, Ideology and Culture apply to the Regions also which are the Parts of a Whole. But the appearance and lengths of the various Stages, the Configurational Dynamics, and some local hues and colourings differ.

## B. Udichya

*Stage* 1 : *Food Gatherers :*

Food-Gatherers lived in this area from over 35,000 years ago till about 14,000 years ago. Archaeologically this is represented by the Soan, Beas and Sanghao Cave Cultures with their chopping tool and flake traditions.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Their affinities were mainly with South East Asia. Ethnically the population was basically Australoid, akin to the Bhils, Kols etc., ancestors of historic tribes like the Udumbaras. (*Chapter* 5).

*Stage* 2: *Advanced Hunters:*

We do not have archaeological evidence (microliths) for Advanced Hunters as yet. But many animals like the humpless cattle, elephant, bison, rhino and tiger and a god surrounded by animals (Shiva Pashupati—Lord of Animals?) are found in the Indusian seals along with those showing composite animals like human-tiger, bull-elephant etc. Hence the existence of this stage can easily be presumed.

*Stages* 3 *and* 4: *Matrifocal Agriculturists/Early Technologists:*

These came together from Iran in the 4th millennium B.C., and are known as the neolithic-chalcolithic cultures (Chapters 7 and 8). Mother goddess names peep out in place names like Shyama-la (Simla), Amba-la, Chandigarh etc. Durga must have originated here and her victory over Mahishasura possibly symbolies a victory of neolithic-chalcolithic peoples over primitive hunters and food-gatherers. As the invaders were Dark Whites, the area began to be albinized. Matrifocal ideas prevailed in this area for about 1400 years, and although they were overwhelmed by successive waves of Warrior Nomads they still survive; for instance in the form of the *Kalma* pronounced by the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis in secret societies (*zikris*): "there are no gods, besides the ONE and the mother of Mohammed is his prophet."[1]

*Stage* 6: *Theo-Technocracy or Priest Engineers:*

The Early Technologists became Theo-Technocrats or Brahmans, and produced along with the Neolithic Peasants, the Advanced Hunters and the Food Gatherers, a native civilization—that of the Indus Valley. (Chapter 13).

*Stage* 5: *Warrior Aristocrats:*

These came after the Stage 6 Theo-Technocrats, the Bronze-using and Iron-using Aryans, the Jhukar type

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



settlements for the former, from 1800-1600 B. C., and Jhangar type for the latter, from about 1100 B. C. or so. They came from Central Asia and Iran and albinized and militarised this area. (Chapters 9 to 11).

*Stage* 7A: *Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic ("Feudal") :*

The warrior invaders were hybridized, through polygamy and concubinage, with the Australoid Nagas (Chapter 14). A Theo-Aristocratic Civilization (Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic) was created along with the Indusian Brahmans, with whom the invaders formed an amalgam. This was the homeland of the Vedas and of Vedic civilization. But because of Achaemenid influence and Abhira, Balhika, Mujavant etc. infiltrations (Chapter 15), this area became "impure" to the Brahmans, who migrated to Madhya Desha. But Taxila (Takshasila) continued to be the cultural centre of Aryavarta, and this area produced great men like several Upanishadic philosophers, Kautilya, Panini, Patanjali etc. This area knew many warlike foreign invasions—Greeks, Shakas, Kushans, Hunas etc., who, ultimately mixed with the descendants of the Republican Aryans and with militarised Adivasis (Nagas) and came to be known as the Jats (*jata,* bound together, i.e. compact tribes). As independent-minded republicans they were scornful of Brahman and kingly pretensions and hence were classified low in the Brahmanic caste-schedule. The *Khatris* (*Kshetra-swami—Kshetri—Khetri —Khatri*) came out of the Aryan *vish* or common people, turned generally traders, and because of their greater obedience to Brahmans obtained higher status than the Jats. (Chapter 16).

*Stage* 8 : *Theo-Mercantile :*

Although Buddhism originated in the eastern fringes of Madhya Desha (Magadha), many early converts came from this international trading region, like the caravan leaders, Bhallika and Tapussa. The Kushan Empire, a Buddhist one (78 A. D. to 3rd century A. D.), with some of Central Asia included, had its main centres at Purushapura (later Peshawar) and Mathura. This was the land of the Mahayana, where Charaka lived in Kanishka's

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



court (1st century A.D.), the region where probably zero was conceived, the home of much Sanskrit Buddhist literature, and of the *Milindapanha* of Nagasena.

*Stage* 7B: *Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic:*

There was tough resistance to the Arabo-Persian Muslims and the Turko-Persian Muslims. Multan held out for 75 years, and Afghanistan for 220 years, as against the Persian 10. It were really the Turks, with their fine Central Asian war horses, metal stirrups and compound reflex bows who conquered the Afghans. Thereafter Afghanistan and West Punjab rapidly became Muslim. The most "Aryan" part of India, retaining fully its Aryan languages, became Islamic, and in popular romantic imagination, the descendants of Arabs, Turks etc., although no Arabic or Turki language is spoken here.

*Stage* 7C: *Sikh Theo-Aristocratic:*

The Sikh Theo-Aristocratic began in this area with Guru Nanak (1468-1538) and lasted till its annexation by the Rational-Mercantile British in 1846. The Sikh Theo-Aristocratic was a transmutation of Hindu Indian Theo-Aristocratic, Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic and of the warrior-nomad traditions of the largely Jat peasantry.

*Stage* 9 *and* 10: *Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic:*

This came after the British conquest, and the most prominent native figures have been the Transmutationist, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, and the poet Muhammad Iqbal. The Western portion broke away, as Pakistan, in 1947. A Transmutationist from outside, Swami Dayananda, had great influence in this region, which has been the centre of activities of the Arya Samaj and of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) institutions.

Thus, the Afghan-Punjabi-Sindhi has been a food-gatherer/a hunter/a mother-goddess worshipping peasant /the creator of the Brahmanic-Theocratic system/a fierce Aryan warrior/the creator of the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic in its Vedic phase/a Mahayana Buddhist, full of love, compassion and pacifism/a fierce Punjabi Musalman and Pathan and creator of Punjabi folk-literature/a doughty

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Sikh fighter under Guru Govind Singh and Ranjit Singh /a "moderniser" like a Dayal Singh Majithia, and an Arya Samajist. It has been the most militarised and albinised area in India. Today caste and other Brahmanic restrictions are less followed here, in the birthplace of Brahmanism and caste, than elsewhere in India. The class structure is fairly balanced, due to the variegated nature of its traditions. Its share in the burdens of defence and of agricultural production, for the country as a whole, is out of all proportion to its numbers.

### C. Kashmir

*Stages* 1 (*Food-Gatherers*)/2 (*Advanced Hunters*) :

Not known archaeologically.

*Stages* 3, 4 *and* 5 (*Matrifocal Agriculturists/Early Technologists/Warrior Nomads :*

There was a neolithic pastoral tradition in Kashmir, having links with Central Asia and China—the Burzahom culture. (Chapter 7).

*Infiltrators*: *The Khas from Central Asia and Brahmans from the Saraswati Valley of India.* The Khas tribe of the Shakas, a Warrior-Nomad White Caucasoid people, seemed to have infiltrated into this lovely vale peaceably. This infiltration is reflected in names like Kaskar in the Gilgit-Chitral region, Kush in Kashmir, Khusgiri in Kashgar, and possibly the names Kashmir, Kashgar etc. themselves. The Kashmiri language is Dardic, in-between Iranian and Indo-Aryan, though much influenced by Sanskrit.

According to the Kashmiri Brahman Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* ("River of Kings"), a 12th century A.D. work, and the *Nilamata Purana,* the Kashmir Valley was a vast lake, which was drained by the sage Kashyapa, who imported Brahmans and sages from India. The Kashmiris are practically a pure White Caucasoid people, but among the Brahmans a slightly darker element is also seen, thus supporting tradition. The priestly water-engineers must have had their traditions harking back to Indusian days, although the immediate provenance may have been the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



drying-up Saraswati Valley. There is no evidence that plains *Kshatriyas* or *vish* went to Kashmir in any appreciable number. The *varna-jati* scheme was, and is, therefore, largely theoretical in Kashmir, as in other New Ground areas—East and South India, and also Maharashtra. In actual practice there was a dichotomy—Brahmans on the one hand/Native white rulers, traders and the common people on the other, the latter not closely *jati* bound.

*Stage* 8: *Theo-Mercantile Buddhist:*

The cultural influence of this is seen earlier than that of the Theo-Aristocrats. Ashoka is supposed to have founded Srinagar (3rd century B.C.). The Fourth Buddhist Council, under Kanishka (1st century A.D.) was held in Kashmir, and this was a centre of Mahayana Buddhism. Along with international trade came Zoroastrian and Hellenic influence, perceptible as late as the 8th century A.D. in the Martand Sun Temple.

*Stage* 7A: *Hindu-Indian Theo-Aristocratic:*

Kashmir was one of the bright spots of the Late Phase of the Hindu-Indian Theo-Aristocratic (Chapter 15). Two strong queens, Sugandha and Didda, in the 10th-11th centuries, managed to keep in check mercenaries and tumultuous barons while there was feudal insubordination everywhere else in India.

—Kashmir Shaivism, with its doctrine of sudden enlightenment, flourished here in the 10th-11th centuries. There were three chief scriptures, hence the name *trika.*

—The Tantric *Kaula* doctrines of Matsyendranath (from *Kula*—assemblage of perceiver, perception and perceived, *matr, mana, meya*) (Chapter 15) flourished here from the 11th century, mixed up with *Yoga* and fertility rites. Hence the Kashmiri Brahman surname "Kaul", a group to which the Nehrus belonged.

—Somadeva's *Katha-Sarit-Sagara* ("Ocean of Stories"), 11th century.

—Bilhana's poem—*Chaura-Panchashika* (11th-12th century).

—Kalhana's *Raja-tarangini* ("The River of Kings"), 12th century A.D., chronicles of Kashmir.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Stage* 7B: *Muslim-Indian:*

The Brahman-Non-Brahman dichotomy and the Mahayana Buddhist heritage of the latter ended in their becoming Muslim, as in Afghanistan-Punjab-Sindh and East Bengal. Zain-ul-abidin (15th century) was a proto-Akbar in toleration. The Mughals, specially Jahangir-Noorjahan, loved this vale, laid out Persian-type gardens, encouraged craftsmen, Persianised its cuisine. Three famous poetesses (in Kashmiri), with sad personal lives, graced this area—Lalla Didi or Lal Ded (14th century), Habba Khatun (16th century), Arani Mal (18th century), all permeated with deep *sufi* influence.

*Stages* 9 and 10: *Rational-Mercantile/Scientific-Democratic:*

A "native state" under Dogra Rajputs from the 1840's, this was an area outside direct Rational-Mercantile/Scientific-Democratic influence. Kashmiri Brahmans had gone to the Indian plains, however, from Mughal times. And two of the first three prime ministers of India came from these plains, Kashmiri Brahmans—Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. In the vale, racked with poverty, radical poetry arose from the end of the 19th century, like those of Pirzada Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur, Zinda Kaul, Nadim and Azad.

## D. Madhya Desha

*Stage* 1: *Food Gatherers:*

Sanskrit literature is full of *Adivasis* living in this area. The name Kosala—Tosala, like Anga—Vanga—Kalinga, is linguistically Austric, pertaining to the Australoid people. So is Ganga, etymologically the same as—*kong* (Mekong=Ma Ganga) or-*kiang*. The proud Aryans called the Australoids of this area *Vanaras* ("monkeys"), presumably after a totem symbol. Most of us are mainly descended from people such as these vegetarian *vanaras*, the subordinate companions of the Aryo-Indians, Rama, Seeta and Lakshman.

*Stage* 2: *Advanced Hunters:*

Archaeologically, this stage is represented in the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Chambal valley, Narbada valley, Mirzapur area etc., along with cave paintings. Sanskrit literature is full of these Advanced Hunters who, unlike the docile Food Gatherers, impeded the advance of the Aryo-Indians. The disturbances they created in the *ashramas* ("retreats") of frontier *Brahmans* were excuses enough for *Kshatriyas* to attack and destroy them and so expand. In Aryo-Indian mythology they have gone down as *Rakshasas,* and a great resisting chieftainess of theirs was Taraka, whom Rama conquered and slew.

*Stages* 3, 4, 5, 6 (*Matrifocal Agriculturists/Early Technologists/Warrior Nomads/Priest-Engineers*) :

All these Stages came to Madhya Desha together from the North-West, which "civilized" this area. (Chapters 7, 8, 9, 13).

After about 2000 B.C. there was a powerful "stimulus diffusion" from the Indusian region, which penetrated to the Southern portion of Madhya Desha. After 1500 B.C. the Bronze-using Aryans, along with Indusian Brahmans, peasants and technicians infiltrated into this area, and, along with the local Australoids, created the Ochre-Coloured-Pottery-cum-Copper Hoard culture, largely in the Upper Gangetic Valley. Rama, a Kosala prince of mixed ancestry (he was of dark colour), who fought the Paulastya Brahman Ravana, a prince of Indusian provenance, probably somewhere in Central India, must be put to this period.

In the Middle Gangetic Valley a "mix" of Stages 3, 4, 5 and 6 came with the Black-and-Red Ware people, after 1100 B.C., from Central India, with Bronze-using Aryans who had come there, along with Indusian priests and technologists, from the Indusian area, down the Banas Valley and Malwa.

The Iron-using Aryans, with their Painted Grey ware, came to the Upper Gangetic Valley from the North West, after 1100 B.C., and thence pushed to the Middle Gangetic Valley, clearing the forests with their iron axes, and ploughing fields with their iron farming tools.

The Aryo-Indians were thinly spread out even in the Punjab, and were still more of a thin layer in the Madhya Desha, the thinness increasing as one went eastwards. Thus

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



a composite ethnical-cultural grouping was formed, which developed the Theo-Aristocratic civilization which grew up in the North West.

Traces of Stage 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists) survive in the *holi* celebrations, in the worship of goddesses like Vindhyeshwari etc. Of Stage 4 in the name of the mining tribe of Bihar known as *Asuras* after their Iron-using masters whom the *Sura* Bronze-using Aryans called by this appellation. (Chapters 9, 10, 11). The Panchala area (now Rohilkhand) was the territory of a confederation of Five Aryan tribes, and Kashi (Benares), the seat of the Kashi (Kassite ?) tribe. The Malla-Licchhavi area is inhabited by Bhojpuri-speaking people and the people of North Bihar, with fighting traditions to this day. Naimish-Aranya (Nimsar near Sitapur) mentioned as a *teertha* (place of pilgrimage) in the *Satya Yuga* (the earliest of the four Hindu traditional epochs) was an early haunt of Indusian Brahmans (Stage 6). Bhagirath and Jahnu may well have been Indusian priest-engineers who diverted or controlled the flow of Ma-Ganga, which river is also called, after them, Bhagirathi and Jahnavi.

*Stage* 7A : *Theo-Aristocratic :*

This was the area which gave birth to the *dharma* and *griha sutras* in the Second Phase (700-300 B.C.) (Chapter 15). The doctrines of *Karma* and *Maya* were developed here as were Upanishadic Idealism and Pantheism. In Phase 3 (300 B.C. to 700 A.D.) we have here the starting points of the Maurya Police State and the under Gupta and Harsha centralisation. Later came Huna and Gurjara inroads and new groupings—Rajputs-Thakurs (Tokharians), Kayasthas etc. Here Manu fulminated against women, although there was ambivalence, for woman was also the respected mother ; Manu also dreaded *varna-samkara* or mixture of castes. Pauranic Hinduism arose here, syncretism around Vishnu-Rama-Krishna and Shiva ; the *avatara* or reincarnation doctrine ; the *Gita ;* the six systems of Hindu-Indian philosophy ; and the doctrine of *Dharma-Artha-Kama-Moksha* ("Caste-duties/Money/Sex/Spiritual Liberation") as constituting

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Man's Life. Sanskrit literature and the final redactions of the *Mahabharata, Ramayana* and the *Puranas* took shape here. Of the many court poets the most famous was Kalidasa. This was also the birthplace of Vatsyayana's *Kama-Sutra,* and of temple-architecture (Deogarh near Jhansi).

In the 4th phase (700-1200 A.D.) there was colonization of Assam, Bengal, Orissa and Central India; feudalization and the rise of the *samanta* system; the mystic Nathapanthis, under Matsyendra Nath, Gorakh Nath etc; and Tantric temples of Khajuraho etc.

*Stage* 8B: *Theo-Mercantile:*

This was the birth-place of Buddhism and Jainism, and of Buddhist and Jain culture. The *shresthis, shrenis,* the *Sangha, Jataka* tales, *stupa* and *torana* art, the *tribhanga* pose in sculpture, the cave temples of Barabar, Nagarjuni hills, and Bhaja, the Northern Black Polished Ware, Buddha figures like those of Sarnath and Mathura, and Buddhist cave paintings like those of Bagh, pertain to this region. It was here also that syncretistic Pauranic Hinduism absorbed the Buddhist ideas of non-violence, vegetarianism and teetotalism.

*Stage* 7B: *Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic:*

The *iqta* system grew up here in the Turkish phase. In the Mughal phase we have—the administrative and military systems of Sher Shah and Akbar; the doctrines of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, who made Indian-Islam, in its hostile/indifferent environment what it has remained —conservative, isolationist, self-confident, anti-innovationist; the Mughal Age of Magnificence; the *gharanas* of North Indian Classical music; the first Hindi poet, Malik Muhammad Jayasi; the Hindavi/Hindi poetry of Tulsi Das, Sur Das, Keshava Das, Dadu Dayal, Kabir, Raidas, Bhushan and Lal Kavi, some tinged with *Sufi* ideas; the absorption of much West Asian culture and of Persian language by Kayasthas and others; the Neo-Mughal culture of Lucknow; the ambivalence towards Hindus of people like Shah Waliullah; the Hindi secular *nakha-shikha* love poetry, *barah-masis, raga-ragini* poems; the growth of Urdu from the 18th century; *qalams* diffusing

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



out from Delhi, Lucknow and Patna; and *firqa* or professional painting.

*Stages* 9 *and* 10: *Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic:*

The British influence was relatively weak here. Hence there has not been much of Quasi-Bourgeois or Quasi-Modern innovation. There was an attempt at Transmutation in the Lucknow Renaissance; in the travelogues of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, and in the poetical and dramatic creations of Nazir and Amanat. This was the centre of the 1857-59 military-political upheavals; of Urdu literature; and of Saiyyid Ahmad Khan's attempted reconstruction of Islam to fit it with Rational-Mercantile Civilization through his doctrine of *nechariya firqa.*

Thus, the Hindu-Indian Theo-Aristocratic and even Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic Civilization is largely Madhya-Deshi, the achievement of the ancestors of the proud Hindi and Urdu-speaking peoples. There are more of Matrifocal ideas here than in the North-West and less of Warrior traditions, although the latter also exist in good measure. Indeed, the pre-1857 Indian Army had large "Poorbeah" (Easterner) contingents, the "Jack Pandys" (Pandeys) of the British Tommies. The Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic influences came largely *via* Calcutta, partly second-hand through Bengali *babus.* This region did not know the technicalization and modernisation of the Calcutta-Bombay areas; nor the laxity of the North-West in Theo-Aristocratic rituals and ideology. It has been, therefore, the citadel of the *Zamindar-Mahant* and *Zamindar-Mullah* civilizations, the citadel of conservative Indian Theo-Aristocracy, so well portrayed in the novels of the Urdu-Hindi Gorky, Prem Chand.

## E. Prachya

*Stage* 1: *Food Gatherers:*

The existence of this is inferred from the beliefs and practices of the Santals as well as from Sanskrit literary references to Kaivartas, Sabaras etc. who were both food-gatherers as well as primitive hunters and fishermen.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Some of the Santals continued to be so till historic times.

*Stage* 2: *Advanced Hunters:*

Birbhanpur (West Bengal) is not a massive site. The Sabaras and Kaivartas were hunters and fishermen, although most of the latter became peasants.

*Stages* 3, 4, 5, 6: (*Matrifocal Agriculturists/Early Technologists/Warrior Nomads/Indusian priests*) :

An Eastern Neolithic, the "stone shouldered hoe" culture, links with South East Asia and South China, came apparently from thence, in the 3rd millennium B.C., along with rice, and spread all over the Gangetic Valley, with traces so far West as Chitor in Rajasthan. The primitive mother-right/head-hunting complex which Heine-Geldern associates with the later Kali-Durga, may well pertain to this distant era. (Chapter 7).

A stimulus wave came from the Indus region, a tertiary one *via* the Banas Valley and Central India, with priests, technologists and farmers (Mahisadal, 1500 B.C.; associated with Black and Red Ware—Pandu Rajar Dhibi, 1000 B.C.). The culture is of the Jorwe type of Maharashtra, but about 200 years later, with a weak technology, mainly in stone.

The Indusians undoubtedly brought the Dravidian languages to the Prachya areas, traces of which lie beneath the Aryo-Indian, which the Santal-like inhabitants of this region slowly came to adopt. Dravidian also penetrated from the south, and still survives in the Rajmahal Hills. (Chapter 9 and 11).

Iron came round about 700 B.C. but there is no evidence of Aryo-Indian military incursion and settlement.

There are strong traces of matrilinealism throughout Prachya, basically a mother-goddess worshipping region so far as Hindus go. We have seen in Chapter 13 that there is strong circumstantial evidence that Durga was worshipped in the Indus area, along with *mantras, yantras, purna ghata etc.* Much of Devi worship has survived in Prachya, in the *agama* tradition, as distinct from the Aryo-Indian *nigama* one, as it was a *cul-de-sac,* where the gap between the culture of the Black-and-Red Ware people

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



who brought the Indusian civilization (circa 800 B.C.) and the "Aryan" colonisation *pucca* (Gupta period, from about 4th century A.D.) is about 1000 years, a long period during which the older matrilineal ideas could strike deep root. In the North-west the patriarchal Aryo-Indians were too strong and they submerged matrilineal ideas and largely obliterated them; in the Madhya Desha the gap between the Mother-Goddess introducing Black-and-Red Ware traditions and the Iron-using Aryo-Indian Painted Grey Ware traditions is only a few hundred years, and so the conquering patriarchal ideas submerged matriarchal ones, which did not have the time, as in Prachya, to strike deep roots.

*Stage* 7A: *Hindu Theo-Aristocratic:*

Prachya was outside the Aryo-Indian Pale. It was inhabited by Santal-like Austric (Munda)-speaking peoples, and some of the names of territories may well pertain to totems, like Vanga from the bird totem (*Vihanga*). The Aryo-Indians noted that the Vangas chattered incessantly, like birds. There were Aryo-Indian infiltrations, and Tamralipti was a Maurya port. The Eastern Aryo-Indian languages grew from Magadhi, and retain Magadhi characteristics (rounding of vowels, inability to distinguish between the three *S* sounds and the two *N* sounds, pronouncing *Ksh* like *kh* etc.) while Bihar, the original Magadha area, has been Hindi-ised (Saurasenised).

Aryo-Indian settlement began really from Gupta times (4th century A.D.). Brahmans from the North and from Madhya Desha were given grants on individual basis; thus there were family settlements, not by tribes or *jatis* as in Central India. (Chapter 15).

The Central Indian grants of the Guptas carried administrative rights and tax-exemptions, but the Prachya grants only the latter. As a result Gupta officials, Kayasthas, came to this area in large numbers, and today about 6-7% of the Hindu population of this region is Kayastha, about the same as Brahmans. (Chapter 16). Because of the mode of settlement, individualism is stronger here than in the Madhya Desha, and hence more in-fighting.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



A humid, steaming area, it was full of snakes, fevers and agues, which gave rise to the growth of a respectable physician caste, the Vaidyas.

Very few Kshatriyas or the Aryo-Indian Vish came here, and the *Varna-jati* scheme of Madhya Desha does not apply to this region, as it does not to Kashmir, Maharashtra and the Deccan.

Orissa had fighting traditions of hunting Savara origin. In Assam the Thai-Shan Ahom warriors, who came in the 13th century A.D., militarised the area. Bengal seems to have relied more on mercenaries from outside (cf. the copper-plate grant of Madanapala in the 11th century, East Dinajpur). Many of these probably went home on retirement or were absorbed among the lower "native" groups.

Later groups of Brahmans and Kayasthas came from Kanauj, and the modern Assamese, Oriya and Bengali Hindu Brahmans and Kayasthas claim descent from Madhya Desha.

Syncretism took place here mainly round Durga, and although she is the wife of Shiva, according to Prachya tradition she is very much superior to him.

*Stage* 8 : *Theo Mercantile :*

As a riverine and maritime area there was a good deal of trade here, internal, and with South East Asia. Kalinga (Orissa) probably participated more than any other area in this region in mercantile activities with South East Asia. Buddhism flourished here and the Pala kings of the 9th-11th centuries were Buddhists, and Pala bronzes are famous. *Vajrayana,* a mystic, yogic sect of Buddhism, with rites borrowed from fertility cults, permeated this region, and teachers went from here to Nepal and Tibet and propagated Vajrayana Buddhism.

With Arab bottling up of India in South East Asia this region regressed to Theo-Aristocracy. West Bengal, Orissa etc. became Hindu. The local *bene* (*vanik, baniya*), formerly Buddhists, became weak as a class and lost importance. The *benes* were accorded a low caste position in the Brahmanical scheme.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Stage* 7B : *Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic :*

East Bengal continued to be egalitarian Buddhist, and during the Turkish period became egalitarian Muslim rather than revert to caste-ridden Hinduism, as is clear from the *Niranjaner Rushma* ("Anger of Niranjan") portion of the Buddhist *Shurya Purana* of Ramai Pandit, undoubtedly a later insertion.

There were tolerant Muslim rulers like Husain Shah and Nasrat Shah of Bengal, patrons of Bengali literature. Among the *bhaktas* were Dvija Chandidas, Chaitanya and Shankara Deva. Vidyapati, belonging to Mithila, falls in this cultural milieu. Chaitanya's *Kirtan* singing style was probably influenced by the *qawwali,* but *nagar kirtan,* processional singing, mass excitement, was his innovation. Pandits introduced stringent regulations regarding rituals and social usages to prevent backsliding to Chaitanya's liberal Hinduism (Vaishnavism) or conversion to Islam. *Sufi* influence, which cannot be directly traced in the Prachya *bhaktas,* is clear in Vaishnava hagiography. In Bengal we have the *kadchas* like that of Krishnadasa Kaviraj on Chaitanya ; in Assam, Madhava Deva's *Nama Ghosha ;* and in Oriya, Jagannath Dasa Atibada's *Bhagavata Purana.* In Assam grew up the puritanical, musical *Eka Sharana* sect, without religious eroticism, probably because of martial Ahom influence. During the Hindu phase Brahmans had stuck to Sanskrit. In the Muslim-Indian phase they took recourse here, as in Madhya Desha, to the regional languages, and rich Bengali, Assamese and Oriya literature grew up.

Stages 8B/9/10 : *Portuguese Theo-Mercantile/British Rational-Mercantile/British Scientific-Democratic :*

The Portuguese made some conversions but they were very few and their influence was very small. The British base at Calcutta was strengthened by refugees, labourers, men with various skills, and leaders of West Bengal Society, fleeing from the Maratha invasion (1742). After their victory in the Cannonade of Plassey, 1757, the British expanded from here. As Calcutta was their base for over 150 years, Bengal participated more than any other area

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



in India in creating the Indian Quasi-Bourgeois, and the Quasi-Modern, as has been seen in Chapters 25 and 26.

The main characteristic of this region is the weakness of the inheritance of Stage 5—Warrior Nomads—especially in Bengal. Assam had the Ahoms, and Orissa, traditions of tribals going back to hunting-fighting days (the Sabaras). The traditions of Stage 4, Early Technologists, are also weak, leaving those of Stage 1, docile Food-Gatherers, and Stage 3, Matrifocal, Domesticated Peasants. Stage 1 slided to Stage 3. Over this came the veneer of Stages 7A and 7B (Hindu and Muslim Theo-Aristocratic). Prachya did not participate in the great days of the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, except in a minor way in the Late Phase, during the rule of the Sena Monarchs, producing a poet like Jayadeva. The participation was greater in Stage 8 (Buddhist Theo-Mercantile), but this was also in its Late Phase. With regression to the Theo-Aristocratic, the mercantile element weakened, and advantage could not be taken of the arrival of the British Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic, as did the Parsees on the West Coast.

There is, thus, an imbalance. The earth has been super-fertile, except in parts of Orissa, giving the people full reign to an indolence which the hot, humid climate naturally engenders. There has been a preponderance of Brahmans and Kayasthas among the elite, not soldiers nor traders and businessmen. The soldiers have been largely mercenaries from outside, specially in Bengal, who retired to their cooler and drier northern homes from this "hell filled with good things". Even today defence needs, even some of the policemen, are provided by the North West and Madhya Desha.

The configuration thus set a premium on indolence, with its concomitants, gossip, talkativeness etc. On the other hand this same leisure gave a fillip to scholarship, and the cultivation of the humanities and of "pure" science, with very little application of the latter to industry.

The British Rational-Mercantilists and Scientific-Democrats partially technicalized this area, because of its coal, jute, and later, iron and steel. But the technicalization has

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



been weak, and more or less confined to Hooghly side and the coal-iron belt.

Thus, for a balanced development conscription is necessary. And public and joint sector trading and industrial concerns, combining the talents, skills and traditions developed by the natives of the region with those of groups from outside settled or settling in the area, Marwaris, Punjabis and Sindhis excelling in commercial and business-management.

The area has a racial unity, almost the same language (the three languages are much more akin to each other than are the Hindi dialects between themselves) and great similarity in food, dress, traditions, customs, manners etc. But all this has been over-shadowed by the literary chauvinism of the leisured elite, acerbated by the airs which the Bengali hatchet-men of the British gave themselves in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Assam and Orissa. However, with the dawning of better sense these differences should disappear and amity should prevail and there would also undoubtedly be the closest links with Bangladesh, the successor of Buddhist East Bengal.

## F. Paschatya

*Stage* 1 : (*Food-Gatherers*)/*Stage* 2 (*Advanced Hunters*) :

Early Stone Age sites (Food-Gatherers) have been found in the Narbada Valley and Microlithic (Advanced Hunters) in the Sabarmati valley, at Langhnaj. The Langhnaj people have Mediterranean and Veddoid (Australoid) characteristics. These people, part ancestors of the modern Gujaratis, ate practically everything—deer, antelope, rhino, wild boar, cattle, buffalo, wolf, rat, squirrel and mongoose—quite different from the elite Gujarati vegetarian diet of today!

*Stages* 3, 4, 6 and 5 : *Matrifocal Agriculturists, Early Technologists, Priest-Managers, Warrior-Nomads :*

The Indusian Civilization took root in Gujarat, including Saurashtra, a little before 2100 B.C. (sites like Lothal, Rangpur, Rajdi, Somnath etc.). It was an active commercial area, trading with Sumeria, and later Babylon.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The Bronze-using Aryans overran the area round about 1800-1700 B.C. and the Iron-using Aryans about 1000 B.C.

Rajasthan has an important Indusian site, Kalibangan ("Black Bangles") in the Ganganagar district. Indusian civilization reached South Rajasthan from Saurashtra round about 1200 B.C. The Bronze-using Aryans brought Indusian civilization to the Banas Valley about 500 B.C.

*Stage* 7A : *Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic :*

The whole area was in the Aryan Pale. Virata was near modern Jaipur, the Matsya Janapada. The entire region was part of the Mauryan Empire. The Shaka (Iranian) satraps held sway here from the 1st-2nd century A.D. to the 5th century A.D. Along with them came the nomadic, stock-breeding Abhiras (Ahirs), also probably initially Iranian-speaking, who settled in the former Yadava country, from Mathura to Saurashtra, and became amalgamated with them. To the Krishna mythology of the Yadavas they added their cowherd legends and traditions, including probably what came to be the *Ras Leela.*

The White Huns, apparently speaking Iranian-type languages, came in two waves in the 5th century A. D. Much of West India fell to a group of White Huns known as the Gujars or Gurjars who gave their name to places like Gujarat and Gujranwala districts of the Punjab, and to the State of Gujarat.

The Rajputs are largely descendants of the White Huns, although some are of Dravidian origin, like the Chalukyas-Solankis, and the Rashtrakutas (Rathors), the latter being Karnataka neolithic stock-breeders turned warriors. The word *thakur,* applied to Rajputs, originally meant a Tokharian (*Tukhara/Thakura*) i.e. a Kushan.

*Stage* 8 : *Theo-Mercantile :*

The *Dakshinapatha* (Southern Route) of the Aryo-Indians started at Shravasti, thence went to Ayodhya and Kaushambi, and from there, through Vidisha (Bhilsa) to Ujjaini and thence to Pratisthana ("Settlement", modern Paithan) on the Godavari. The river route led, along the Narmada, from Maheshwar, south of Ujjaini, to Bhrigu-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



kachcha (Broach), and thence overseas. Along with this mercantilism went Theo-Mercantile religions like Buddhism and Jainism. Valabhi was a great Buddhist and Jain centre. The zero appeared for the first time in a Gujarat inscription in the 6th century A.D. But with Arab control of the seas feudalization took place.

*Stage* 7A : *Hindu Theo-Aristocratic :*

The feudal Chalukyas or Solankis ruled in Gujarat from the 10th to the 13th century A.D. and various Rajput clans in Rajasthan. *Pax Rajputica* gave rise to a trade revival, and towns grew up in Rajasthan and Gujarat. A new class of merchants dealing with daily necessities grew up, collectively known as the Marwaris. The *vaniks* of Gujarat also became millionaires, largely by the export of textiles. All these merchants preferred the simpler Jainism to the ritual-filled, costly Hinduism. Kumarapala of Anhilwara in the 12th century, made Gujarat basically vegetarian and teetotal, the end process of a long Jain tutelage. To this period belong beautiful Jain and Hindu temples—the Sun Temple at Modhera ; the celebrated Vimala Vasi Jain temple at Mt. Abu, full of delicate carvings in marble ; and beautiful Palitana on the Satrunjaya hill, a city of temples.

*Stage* 7B : *Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic :*

This is a glorious period for the Rajputs. To note are :—Retreat of several North Indian princes to Rajasthan ; Resistance literature like Chand Bardai's *Prithviraja Rasau* (13th century) ; The Independence and Reassertion wars of the Sisodias of Mewar ; *Pax Turkiana* and *Pax Mughaliana,* creating more trade, and therefore an anti-Establishment atmosphere in which *bhakti,* influenced by *Sufism,* flourished—Narsi Mehta, Vallabhacharya, Mira Bai etc. ; Mughal-Rajput *entente cordiale* from 1562 to 1678. The Thirty Years War (1678-1708) between Mughals and Marwar meant the end of both Mughals and Rajputs ; Rajput miniatures ; 17th, 18th centuries, Dayaram's *bhakti* writings in Gujarati ; *garbis* in praise of Radha and Krishna ;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Stages 9 and 10: British Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic:*

*Pax Brittanica* gave a fillip to the activities of mercantile groups like the Gujarati *baniyas,* Marwaris etc., aided by railways, the electric telegraph etc. During the American Civil War when cotton supplies from South United States to Lancashire ceased, Gujarati and Parsee cotton exporters made fabulous fortunes. The high cotton prices ruined the handloom workers. When the war ceased the cotton merchants started textile mills. The ruination of handloom and the fall of cotton prices again helped them.

By 1939 the Marwari, Gujarati and Parsee merchants built up modern monopolistic groups like those of Tata, Birla, Dalmia, Singhania, Walchand, Goenka, Poddar, Jaipuria etc. But being of merchant, and not artisan origin, they did not create a heavy industry, and in light industry the technology was borrowed from abroad.

The area gave to India its greatest man of modern times, Mahatma Gandhi, a philosopher-statesman, who was also a link between Gujarati and Marwari *baniyas* and the Congress Party, which was in the forefront of the Nationalist movement.

*The Parsees,* Zoroastrians, fleeing from the Muslim-Arab conquerors of Persia, had lived in the Gujarat area since the 7th century A.D. They came to Bombay in the 17th century. Like the Bengalis they were "fronts" for the British servants of the East India Company, who could not trade in their own name, nor hold property "up-country". When these legal disabilities ceased the Bengalis reverted to land, the civil services and the professions. The Parsees, with their craft and overseas business traditions, continued in their commercial avocations and ventured into industry, light and heavy, a bright example being Jamshedji Tata. They have also been path-finders in journalism (Mulla Feroz, Fardunji Marzban, Kaikhusru Kabraji, Nariman, Karaka, Karanjia etc.) ; social reform (Behramji Malabari), economic theorisation (Dadabhai Naoroji), Municipal administration (Phirozeshah Mehta,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Nariman), freedom movement abroad (Madam Cama) and atomic energy development (Homi Bhabha).

The Paschatya area is thus quite a balanced one— businessmen, warriors, sturdy peasantry. But technicalization, as all over India, is weak. And because of the strong practicality and money-mindedness in Paschatya tradition, intellectual theorisation has been more or less held to be of lesser importance.

## G. Maharashtra

*Stages* 1 *and* 2: *Food Gatherers—and Advanced Hunters:*

Early Stone Age (Food-Gathering) sites have been found in the Western Godavari valley, the Bombay-Kandivli area etc.. Microliths (denoting tools generally used for making weapons for Advanced Hunting) have also been found in the Bombay-Kandivli area, but the sites in question were mainly fishing settlements.

*Stages* 3, 4, 5 *and* 6: *Matrifocal Agriculturists, Early Technologists, Nomad Warriors, Priest Managers':*

These all came together, down the Banas Valley and Malwa, led by Bronze-using Aryans. (Chapters 7, 8, 9). Round about this time, 1600 B.C., a stone blade culture, with coarse grey or black pottery, moved up from Karnataka and met the Indusian and Malwa technologists migrating south. This sort of encounter produced the Jorwe chalcolithic-cum-neolithic (1400 to 1000 B.C.), where Saurashtra Indusian influence is also seen through the pottery (Lustrous Red Ware). At Nevasa, 1300 B.C. onwards, we have many mother-goddess figurines, indicating rapid growth in peasant-culture of the matrifocal type.

At Chandoli and at Nevasa bottles in the form of bulls recall those of Hissar and Sialk circa 1300-1000 B.C. Central Asian type of spindle whorls are also found. These indicate Aryan folk movements. From the legends aspect these can be linked with the Haihayas, along with Indusian priests of the Atri group, with names like Dattatreya.

Cross-cousin marriage is one of the characteristics of matrifocal agriculturists, and Irawati Karve has given detailed evidence for the existence of this in Maharashtra, more in the south than in the north. In her book *Kinship*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Organisation in India* (Poona, 1953) she has proved the southward expansion of Aryo-Indian elites, and the northward expansion of Dravidian ones, both over Australoids of the Munda type, meeting in Maharashtra. There was a partly stock-breeding "Southern Neolithic", and this moved to Maharashtra from Karnataka. These were hardy men, well-suited to the hard terrain of Maharashtra. Some of them undoubtedly turned warriors, as stock-breeders, who often fight with each other for pasture-rights, do. These Dravidian and Munda speaking peoples became Aryanised in speech. Even in recent times Andhras have been Marathised, the surnames of the neo-Marathas ending in—War.

Thus, archaeology and social anthropology tally. According to the researches of D. D. Kosambi proto-Ganapati belongs to this stage.

*Stage* 7A : *Hindu Theo-Aristocratic :*

Maharashtra is not among the *janapadas* mentioned in Buddhist literature, about 6th century B.C., nor is it included in Baudhayan's definition of Aryavarta, also the same time. Thus, it must have been still basically non-Aryan speaking. The Aryo-Indians were still at the frontiers, as the name Pratisthan, (modern Paithan) meaning "Settlement" indicates.

In Maharashtra the infiltration pattern of the Iron-using Aryo-Indians is different from the tribe or clan movements to Central India or individual family movements to Prachya. People largely came on their own, along the *Dakshinapath* ("Southern Way"), as *jataka tales* indicate—for instance the colonisation of the 6th century B.C. Kosalan pioneer, Bavari. Few *Kshatriyas* seem to have come, or the *Vish.* The regular *varna-jati* scheme of Madhya Desha did not apply here, as it did not in Prachya, Kashmir and Dakshinatya.

A local dynasty, the Satavahanas, grew out of the folk amalgam, with their capital at Pratisthan (near Nasik). Their original home was in Karnataka, perhaps near Bellary[2]. They called themselves after their mothers' names (Gautami-putra, Vashishti-putra etc.), indicating a matrifocal cultural origin. They ruled from about 50 B.C. to

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



about 250 A.D. They conquered the whole of the Deccan and styled themselves *Dakshina-patha-pati* (analogous to the Mughal *Subahdar-i-Deccan*). Sata-karni *I*, in the 1st century B.C., pushed up to Eastern Malwa, and up to Sanchi, anticipating the achievements of Baji Rao I in the 18th century. The Satavahanas now tussled with the Iranian Shakas, who were ultimately absorbed. The Satavahanas followed Madhya Deshi culture, and a policy of "Sanskritisation" and "Prakritisation", dismissing the local language contemptuously as "*goblin language*". Hala's *Saptasataka* ("Seven Hudred Verses") in Prakrit, describing Nature and the lives of peasants and of ordinary people belongs to this period (probably 1st century A.D.).

Along with the Shakas came new priestly groups, like the Chitpavans, with their well-known greenish-grey "cat-eyes", and an administrative class, which came to be known as the Chandrashreniya Kayastha Prabhus (CKP).

The Satavahanas were succeeded by the Vakatakas, and then by the Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas (in all from the 6th to 12th century A.D.), the last two dynasties having their capitals in the Karnataka area (Vatapi, Manyakheta, Kalyani). The Rashtrakutas, Marathas of Karnataka origin,[3] made the second Maharashtrian effort to dominate both North and South, and like the Satavahanas before and Marathas later, failed. The symbol of suzerainty was Kanauj, and for a time the Rashtrakuta-Pala alliance got the better of the Pratiharas, but ultimately these feuds exhausted all of them.

To this region belong the gigantic Ellora temples, 8th century A.D., and the cave sculptures of Elephanta, 9th century A.D., including the colossal three-headed Trimurti (Creator/Preserver/Destroyer), among the highest and most serene plastic expressions of the Hindu syncretistic concept of divinity, going back to Indusian days.

*Stage* 8 : *Buddhist/Jain Theo-Mercantile :*

Along the Dakshina-path, to the West Coast, went merchants and caravaneers, *vanijyakaras* (later *banjaras*), largely Buddhist and Jain. To the Theo-Mercantile we are indebted for the caves at Kanheri, Bhaja, Karle and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Ajanta (2nd century B.C. to 7th century A.D.). The brilliant Ajanta paintings are both religious as well as secular—princes, high-born ladies, coolies, beggars, peasants, ascetics, the birds, beasts and flowers of India. These caves, as D. D. Kosambi has pointed out, were not only religious places, but also rest houses for wealthy patrons, merchants and *vanijya karas,* who loved to see life as they knew it.

*Stage* 7B : *Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic :*

During this period (Turkish phase) we have the Reassertionist *Jnaneshwari* Gita. To Islamic influence is no doubt due the one-God feeling and the hatred of idols of the Mahanubhava sect. In the Mughal phase the Marathas became trained in guerrilla tactics by local resisters, like Malik Ambar, the Deccan sultanates having large Maratha elements.

*The Maratha resurgence.* This has had a separate chapter to itself (Chapter 19).

*Stage* 8B : *Portuguese Theo-Mercantile :*

Due to their mastery of the seas the Portuguese had a chain of forts in the West Coast from the 16th century, including Goa. Thana, Bassein and Salsette were taken by the Marathas 1737-39. Ultimately the British triumphed over all.

*Stages* 9 *and* 10 : *British Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic :*

This has been dealt with fully in Chapters 25 and 26. The interaction here has been only second in importance to that in the Calcutta area, where the British concentration was much stronger. The Maharashtrians developed strong classes of intellectuals, professional men and administrators.

Maharashtra presents the picture of a fairly well-integrated social community :—a sturdy peasantry base in a hard country, liable to droughts ; a warrior class rising largely from the peasantry, close to the land ; Brahmans who had come, not with government help, but largely on their own, and hence, dependent on and close to the people ;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



a small group of warriors of foreign (Iranian) origin, who became, mixed up with the "natives"; an administrative class going back to the Iranian Pahlavas and Sassanians; and although matrilineal ideas were submerged, they were not suppressed to the extent which implied a degradation of women; rather, as the bulk of the military arose from an initially matrilineal peasantry, women were continued to be honoured, and it is no wonder that out of this matrix and tradition grew leaders like Chand Sultana (who defied Akbar), Tara Bai (who foiled Aurangzeb), Ahalya Bai (who raised Indore from a village to a proud, bustling city) and Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi (the foremost Indian leader in the 1857-59 military-political upheavals)—*yatra naryastu pujyante ramante tatra devatah* ("where women are honoured, there gods are pleased").

Of the three main Brahman groups—Deshasthas ("Natives"), Saraswats and Chitpavans ("Purified"), the first seems to be an amalgam of tribal medicine-men, Indussian priests and Bronze-using Aryan priests; the second mainly of Iron-using Aryo-Indian extraction, and the third, late-comers, of Iranian origin, like the Parsees, whom they resemble ethnically. The subtlety of intellect of the Maharashtrian Brahmans and intellectuals is famous, and their achievements solid and substantial. Maharashtrian administration is perhaps the most efficient in the country. But technicalization is weak, and like the rest of India, lacking in native roots, due to the Near-Theocratic heritage, which, indeed, positively hampers scientific and industrial growth. When Chimaji Appa took Bassein and Salsette, the Portuguese docks and foundries lay neglected, unattended. Trading is also a weak point, and hence the important mercantile groups have come from outside—Gujaratis, Parsees, Marwaris, Sindhis etc.

## H. Dakshinatya

*Stages 1 and 2: Food-Gatherers and Advanced Hunters:*

Stone Age (Food-Gathering) sites have been found at Gundla-Brahmeshwaram in Andhra Pradesh and Attirampakkam and Gudiyam caves in Tamil Nadu. Micro-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



lithic (Fishing-Hunting) sites have been found at Kondapur (Andhra Pradesh), Attirampakkam and Gudiyam cave (Tamil Nadu), Jalahalli (near Bangalore), and Tuticorin *tehri* (dune), the last being largely a fishing one.

*Stages* 3, 4, 5 *and* 6: *Matrifocal Agriculturists, Early Technologists, Warrior Nomads, Priest-Managers:*

A Stone-Age Southern Neolithic (Matrifocal Agriculturist) grew up south of the Godavari and apparently lasted from 2300 B.C. to 1800 B.C. (Utnur, Piklihal, Brahmagiri, Maski, Sanganakallu, Tekalakota, Hallur). The people were also stock-breeders and kept cattle, sheep and goats. (Chapter 7).

In the second phase, 1800 B.C. to 1500 B.C., bronze and copper objects are found. There are evidences of contact with Northern, pre-Harappan Baluchi technology. (Chapters 7/8).

In the third phase, 1400 B.C. to 100 B.C., the number of copper and bronze tools increase. Pottery, akin to the Jorwe type of Maharashtra is found. At Hallur there is a horse bone, rock paintings show horses and riders, and at Kallur exotic bronze swords have been found. (Chapters 7/8/9).

Clearly there is close contact with the North.

The cultivation was mainly on hill terraces, as is still the practice of tribes like the Badaga of the Nilgiris. It did not spread to the Black Cotton Soil, which at the first rain becomes sticky and too heavy to work without a plough. Cattle, goat and sheep were eaten, as the many split and cut bones testify. It was basically a herdsman-cum-agricultural society. From the beginning there is the zebu or humped cattle, an animal of north-western provenance (cf. Rensch's Rule, Chapter 11). Hence, this also shows a close link with the north-west, as does the pottery, even if the culture was *sui generis*.

The Indusian came about 1000 B.C., in a diluted form. The Dark-White Caucasoids of Baluchistan and Southern Iran, probably never completely "Indusianised" in any case, came under the dual influence of a megalithic folk from North Iran, using iron, on the move; and also of Aryan

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



horsemen from Sialk VIB (in Iran). (Chapter 9). They adopted some of their culture traits, and because of the superiority of their iron weapons, and the horse, could venture into fresh pastures. North West India was occupied by the Aryans, and hence closed to the adventurers. Skirting to their south by land, and also possibly by sea, *via* Saurashtra, they headed for South India, to the iron mines of Mysore. On the way they adopted the local ceramics, the Black-and-Red Ware. They also came by sea to the tip of South India and pushed northward. These Dark-White Caucasoid Dravidian speakers were very likely the ancestors of the Reddis, Khammas, Mudaliyars, Nairs etc. as well as of a substantial element of South Indian Brahmans, specially probably of the *tengalai* ("Southern") group. The thinness of occupation of the megalithic sites show that very small numbers of Dravidians came. As in the North, there must have been widespread concubinage and polygamy, and the Baluchi physical type became more and more diluted (except in *culs-de-sac* like Coorg) and approximated more and more to the native Australoid (Munda). These, by mimesis, adopted the Dravidian tongue of their Dark-White iron-using masters, while in North India the Mundas there, by a similar process, and for the same reasons, adopted Aryan tongues. Thus the Aryan-Dravidian dichotomy is racially meaningless. (Chapters 9/11).

These momentous times are reflected in the Tamil *Shangam* ("Assembly") literature, which goes back to about 500 B.C. and lasted to about 500 A.D., according to experts like V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar and K. A. Nilakantha Sastri. The megalith, or *nadukal,* cenotaphs for war-horses, figure in *Shangam literature.* We also find much in Old Tamil literature of the *velirs* and of their followers, the *velalars.* The *velirs,* supported by the kings, created Old Tamil literature. The great medieval commentator, Nachchinar-Kkiniyar, connects the *velirs* and *velalars* with Agastya, (*Akkatiyar*), the priest, who came from the North. This has led N. Subrahmanian to suspect that the *velirs* and the *velalars* were Indusian refugees. Iravatham

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Mahadevan supports this, saying that as in the Indusian cities, so in Old Tamil literature, the *velirs,* priests, lived on western citadels, while the serf *kocars, velalars* etc. lived in eastern coolie towns. (The Tulu *Koshars* were warriors). (Chapters 9, 11, 15).

In the cul-de-sac of Kerala matrilineality, reinforced by Indusians, existed till the other day in the *maru-makka-thayam* system, which uplifted women, as testified by the famous anthropologist, L. A. Anantha-Krishna Iyer. Ehrenfels has speculated on an Indusian origin for the Kerala Nayars, whose ancestors, along with those of the Aryanised Punjabi Nayyars, probably lived one day as part of the same Naga or Snake-Totem people in North West India. (Chapters 7, 11).

Matrilineal culture is also strong in the Meenakshi-temple complex at Madurai, alike in the lower position of Meenakshi's husband; the male imitation-Durga, the ten-armed Veerabhadra sculptured on the *gopurams*; and the representation of woman riding man in the *Kali Yuga* in the *sabha* attached to the Meenakshi shrine.

Aryan-speaking Brahmans, Buddhists, Jains infiltrated into South India from at least the 5th century B.C. These Brahmans may well have formed the core of the *vadagalai* ("northern") group. (Chapters 11, 15, 22).

Out of the cattle-breeders of the South, mixed with the militarised Indusians, who came to the Karnataka iron-mines, grew up the soldiery which apparently spread to the Andhra region, also became Marathas, and even provided distant Bengal with a dynasty (the Senas). The Todas also may have evolved out of these stock-breeders.

*Stage* 7A: *Hindu Theo-Aristocratic:*

The Theo-Aristocratic presented in the *Shangam* literature was not very different from the Northern one, with which it ultimately merged. The North was much more populous, and was, therefore, much stronger. Its priests were more persuasive, and had greater medical and other skills. It is significant that a *Shangam* work is named after Jivaka, a doctor in Magadha of Buddha's time—*the Sivaga Sindamani* of Tiruttaka. In the *Shan-*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*gam* literature, as K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and other authorities tell us, the Brahmans ate meat, and drank toddy. They only slowly became vegetarians, under Buddhist and Jain influence. (Chapter 15).

As in the New Ground of Prachya, Maharashtra and Kashmir, the Madhya Desha *Varna-jati* scheme did not apply, as practically no *Kshatriya* or *vish* came to the South.

South India contributed much to the common Hindu Theo-Aristocratic Civilization, specially in its Late Phase (700-1200 A.D.). Among the more noteworthy contributions have been—*Shilappadigaram* ("The Jewelled Anklet") of Prince Ilango Adigal, probably 4th-5th century A.D, in Tamil; the *Kurals* of Tiruvalluvar; South Indian temple architecture, starting from the *rathas* and friezes of the Mahabalipuram complex (7th century A.D.) (including Arjuna's Penance and Durga Mahishamardini), and the temples of Aihole near Badami, capital of the Chalukyas (7th century A.D.), to the giant temples from the 10th century A.D. with the *gopuram* gates towering above the *shikharas* as at Tanjavur, Tiruchirapalli, Madurai, Kumbakonam, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Suchindram, Trivandrum, etc.; elaborate and ornate temples on the plateau—of the Chalukyas, Hoysalas, Vijaynagar (11th-16th centuries); magnificent South Indian bronzes, like *Shiva Nataraja* ("Shiva, the King of the Dance"); Kamban's *Ramayana* in Tamil; the *Advaita* (monistic) philosophy of Shankara (8th-9th century) and the *Vishistadvaita* or Qualified monism of Ramanuja (11th-12th century), bridge between devotional cults and Hindu theology; devotional cults (*bhakti*), fervid emotional surrender to the deity—Shaiva *Nayanars* and Vaishnava *Alvars;* Tyagaraja's musical compositions, *Mani-pravalam* (ruby and coral, Sanskrit & Malayalam) style in Kerala; *Tullal* dance drama of Kunchan Nambiar; *Tikas* and *yaksha-ganas* of the Karnataka country.

*Stage* 8A: *Buddhist Jain Theo-Mercantile, from* 1*st century B.C.:*

Buddhists and Jains infiltrated Southwards from North India, and among South Indian Theo-Mercantile contribu-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



tions are—*Sivaga Sindamani* of Tiruttaka; Nagarjuna's philosophy; *Manimegalai* of Sattan of Madurai; Dandin's *Dasha-Kumara-Charita* ("Tales of the Ten Princes") 6th-7th century A.D., full of realism and of "low life"; Jain caves at Badami; South Indian trade with and infiltration to South East Asia; giant statue of the Jain saint, Gomata, at Shravana Belgola.

*Stage* 7B: *Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic:*

A new group, the Moslem *Mapillais* (Moplahs) of Kerala, came into existence. Basava, in the 11th century, responded to Islam by creating the *Veerashaiva* or *Lingayat* religion, which was against the Vedas, Brahmans, caste etc. The *Sufis* had great saints like Gesudaraz, 15th century. The first book in Urdu, the *Sufi Miraj-ul-Ashiqin* ("Ascent of Lovers"), appeared this time. The Qutab Shahis of Golkonda patronised Telugu, the Ahmadnagar and Bijapur Sultans, Marathi.

Vijaynagar reasserted Hindu sovereignty against the Turks and the Deccan Sultanates, allied in the 16th century with Goa.

There was a bastion of Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic in the Mughals for over 200 years from 1724, in Hyderabad.

*Stage* 8B: *Christian Theo-Mercantile:*

West Asian Christians reacted with the Theo-Aristocrats in Kerala from 1st century A.D. About 20% of Kerala was converted to Syrian Christianity.

Madhava in the 13th century, in his *Dvaitavada* or Dualism, borrowed from Christianity.

Roberto de Nobili (17th century), Beschi, and many Danish and other protestant sects of Christianity made converts in Tamil Nadu, but as India was not *tabula rasa*, and had well-entrenched religions, Christianisation was marginal.

*Stages* 9 *and* 10: *Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic:*

The British were much less strong here than in Calcutta, which was full of their civilians and commercial men; they were also less strong than in Bombay. In

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Madras, the British were mainly civil servants, and there were far less of commercial men than in Calcutta or Bombay. The Calcutta area also had a larger concentration of British intellectual, journalists etc. There was a planter community in the Deccan uplands but the planters were relatively few, and scattered in their estates. The Hindu Theo-Aristocratic here had not been exposed to the Islamic challenges as in Maharashtra and Bengal, and was stronger. Large areas like Mysore, the Nizam's dominions, Travancore etc. ("Native States"), were exposed to British influence only marginally. Bengal, formerly Buddhist, had been comparatively lax in its Hinduism. So, the Status-Quo forces were stronger in Dakshinatya than the Change Forces, compared to Maharashtra and Bengal.

Nevertheless, some technicalization took place, mainly in the 20th century—in Mysore, in the Coimbatore area, and in the region of hydro-electric works. And some contributions of All India nature in the "Bourgeois" and "Modern" fields were made, like—the sound and solid journalism of the *Hindu;* the oleographs of Ravi Varma (1848-1906) : the nationalist poems of Subrahmaya Bharati (Tamil), D. R. Bendre (Kanarese), Vallathol and G. Sankara Kurup (Malayalam) etc.; the Radical and Socio-Psychological writings of Kumaran Asan, Vallathol etc. in Malayalam ; Mrs Annie Besant's Transmutationist Theosophy movement; and Narayan Guru's religious and social reform movement in Kerala, largely among the Ezhavas.

With education, opposition to Brahmanic domination grew, specially in Tamil Nadu, as articulated in the writings of Bharati Dasan, Annadurai, Karunanidhi etc., affiliated to the *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* (Dravidian Progress Society).

### 1. General Conclusions

Thus, there has been change all over India, and in all regions, from time immemorial. All these changes have not been haphazard, they have followed a pattern, namely of passing through the Ten Stages of Civilization, each with its value system and institutions.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The gentry classes of India think of themselves as being distinct from the "lower orders", ethnically and culturally, and of always having been so. If this thesis is accepted, then it would follow that the "lower stages"—food-gatherers, advanced hunters, matrifocal peasants, early technologists, do not pertain to the genery, although they would be glad to have warrior-aristocrats (not "nomads") and priest-managers as their ancestors. But we have seen that this supposition of the gentry cannot be accepted. In each region there is a good deal of ethnic similarity between the top, middle and bottom layers, although some top groups have different ethnic features as well, idicating initial foreign affiliations. But hybridization through polygamy and concubinage has been extensive, and various ethnic groups have criss-crossed all over the country. Hence the ancestry of the elite does not stop with warrior-aristocrats and priest-managers. In their case also it goes back to early technologists, matrifocal peasants, advanced hunters and food gatherers. (Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16).

The differences between the various regions of India have been due to what might be called "folk" elements. Under this head may be included :

—"ethnic mix", what people look like ; for instance, the broad head of the Gujarati and the Bengali ; the stalwart nature of the Jat etc.

—dress, like the flowing Bengali *dhoti,* the Maratha ladies tucking their sarees beneath their legs etc.

—dwelling places, sloping roofs in Kerala and the west coast, in rural Bengal etc., where rainfall is plenty, flat in the Northern plains etc.

—food, use of items locally available, rice and fish in Prachya, wheat and plenty of milk and milk-products in the Punjab etc ;

—some arts and crafts ;

—some professions and callings, dependent on geography, e.g. sailors of Chittagong, Orissa and Kerala ; Gurkha soldiers etc.

—some musical traditions.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



These local features, dependent largely initially on geography, local availability of certain materials, of items of food etc., give variety to life and they are to be found in all societies, as they are in India. But there is an overall similarity in some of these folk items also, which again change with time, influenced by the values of different Stages of Civilisation. This point is illustrated in the next chapter, which deals with changes in food, drink and women's dress.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 29

# CHANGE IN FOOD, DRINK AND WOMEN'S DRESS

## A. Food and drink in the Hindu-Buddhist Civilization

1. *General :*

It would be interesting to see what changes occurred in the habits of eating, with special reference to meat-eating, and of drinking intoxicating liquors, during the evolving phases of the overlapping Hindu-Buddhist civilizations. There are several books and articles on the subject. Om Prakash's *Food and Drinks in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1961), a comprehensive and well-documented volume, is used here as the main guide. It would be interesting to see first what were the contributions of the predecessors of the two Aryo-Indian stages of civilization.

2. *Primitive Food-Gatherers/Eastern Neolithic Peasants/ Munda-speakers :*

On linguistic analysis—*chawal,* rice ; *alabu*—pumkin ; *kadali*—banana ; *narikela*—coconut ; *jambu*—rose apple ; *dadima*—pomegranate ; *haridra*—turmeric ; *sringavera*—ginger ; *numbuka*—lemon ; *sarsapa oil*—mustard oil ; *guda* —jaggery ; *tambula*—betel leaves ; *guvaka*—betel nut.

3. *Indusian-Dravidian :*

(a) On linguistic analysis—*vatya* (barley) ; various kinds of pulses (*simbi*)—*masa, mudga* and *masura ; panasa* (jack fruit), *tundi* (gourd), *patola* (a species of cucumber), *pundarika* (lotus flower) ; *tarasa* (meat) ; *vallura* (seasoned meat) ; *ira* and *masara*—intoxicating drinks ; *tulasi* (holy basil) ; *chincha* (tamarind) ; *tila* (sesamum). Round cakes (*vatakas*—ancestors of the *vada*) were prepared and fried in oil or butter.

(b) Archaeological evidence—barley ; peas and sesamum ; *rai* mustard ; beef, mutton, pork, poultry, gharials, turtles, fish ; melons, dates, coconuts, pomegranates, bananas ; grinding stones (for spices).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



4. *Vedic period* (1800-800 *B.C.*) :

Food—Beef, goats. Meat roasted on spits, or boiled in pots, specially latter (*Rig Veda I* 162-13).

Drinks—The *soma* juice was most potent; according to Watt and J. M. Unwala this was the *ephedra* plant. It was most intoxicating, and played an important part in religious rituals. It was mixed with curds, clarified butter (*ghee*), milk, water, honey etc. *Sura* was prepared from fermented barley or wild paddy, after distillation. Thus, it was of the gin-sake type. Many Brahmans disapproved of drinking.

Others—The use of spices can only be inferred and was apparently not common mustard is mentioned. In the hot climate of India butter had to be clarified (*ghee*), and this, rather than oil, was the cooking medium of the Aryo-Indians, while other Indians used oil. During the later part of this period ideas of food pollution seem to come into Aryo-Indian tradition, possibly from Indusian tradition.

5. *Circa* 800 *B.C.*—300 B.C. :

Food—from the *sutras* and archaeology—the archaeological evidence shows that the humped bull, buffalo and sheep were slaughtered for food, for instance at Hastinapura. In the *sutras* the eating of one-hoofed animals, camels, village pigs, of animals having excessive hair, or no hair, and of fish, was forbidden. Meat cooked with rice, *mamsaudana* (a kind of *pilau*), was specially favoured in the 'Upanishadic' period, round 800-500 B.C. (*Brihadaranyaka Upanishad,* VI. 4.18).

Drinks—the grammarian Panini mentions words for vintner, distillery and liquor. At various rituals and festive occasions strong drinks were served but the *sutras* disapproved of Brahmans and students drinking.

Others—Among spices are mentioned long pepper, black-pepper and asafoetida. Sugar cane is now widely used.

In the Madhya Desha the notion of food getting defiled by contact with persons not leading "virtuous" lives or following "low" professions, was developed.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Evidence from early Buddhist and Jain works.*

Food—The *Jatakas* mention the use of venison, pork, fowl, beef, *godha* (alligator/iguana), monkeys, pigeons. Even Jains, in those days, took meat under certain circumstances. Meat soup was common. *Ghee,* spices and curds were used in cooking meat. The flesh of a *godha* (alligator/iguana) dressed with spices and vinegar was considered a delicious dish. Meat cooked with rice seems to have been a favourite dish of the Brahmans. Roasting on spits, barbecues etc. are mentioned. Buddhist monks were generally vegetarians, but the Buddha allowed all food articles necessary to sustain life. The Jains, Ajivikas and most ascetics were against killing living creatures. Due to the intensive preaching of Buddhists, Jains etc. some people became vegetarians.

Drinks—Several varieties of drinks are mentioned. To illustrate—*maireya* (a spiced wine), *varuni* (a strong liquor), *prasanna* (a variety of *sura*), *sidhu* (prepared from the juice of sugar cane) and several others. We learn from Buddhist and Jain works that liquor was manufactured and consumed on a large scale. Taverns and drinking shops are frequently mentioned. Chanda Pradyota drank for three days continuously when Vatsaraja Udayana was brought alive. The Buddha and Mahavira did not allow their followers, specially monks, to drink, except in cases of illness.

Others—Among the spices mentioned are pepper, long pepper, cumin, asafoetida, myrobalan, dry ginger, turmeric, mustard and cloves. There is no mention of chillies. Fruit syrups were very popular.

6. *Circa* 300 *B.C. to* 75 *A.D.—Maurya and Shunga Sources:*

Food—Kautilya mentions the superintendent of slaughter houses and permits the sale of the flesh of animals recently killed. Megasthenes states that Indian "philosophers" generally abstained from animal food. Ashoka's edicts show that thousands of living creatures were killed for food in his kitchen before he issued his decree restricting the practice to two peacocks and a deer.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Drinks—Kautilya mentions liquor shops, and the superintendent of liquors. According to Megasthenes rice beer was the common drink of India. But Kautilya gives a detailed account of the ingredients and the method of preparation of various other intoxicating liquors. *Medaka* and *Prasanna* were made from rice. *Maireya* was a spiced liquor made from the bark of the *meshashringi* (*gymnema sylvestre*) tree and was the favourite drink of aristocrats. Wines from grapes were common, the most famous ones being *Kapishayana* and *Hara-huraka* from the present Afghanistan area. Five varieties of *sura* (barley /rice wines) are mentioned. *Sahakarasura* was made from mangoes and *rasottura* from treacle. According to Greek authorities palm fruit was also used in preparing liquors.

Others—Some new spices are mentioned like coriander, cardamom and cloves. The use of oil was still considered "exotic" by the Aryo-Indians. Buffet meals, taken standing, have been mentioned.

*The Epics and Manu-Smriti.*

Food—The *Kshatriyas* were great hunters and meat-eaters. Rama and Lakshmana ate various kinds of deer in the forest. Meat cooked with rice, vegetable and spices (*mamsabhutaudana*), a kind of *risotto,* was apparently the favourite dish of Seeta. (*Ramayana—Ayodhya Kanda*, 52.89). The Pandavas in the Kamyaka forest ate many kinds of venison, Duryodhana liked rice cooked with meat. Damayanti asked her maid-servant to bring meat prepared by her husband (*Mahabharata, Vana Parva*, 75.20). At the time of marriages many animals were killed and eaten. In the palace of Rantideva, it was said, two thousand animals were killed every day. The Pandavas offered meat to Brahmanas. On *shraddhas* Brahmans were generally fed with meat. Besides meat roasted on spits whole animals were sometimes roasted on live charcoals. The concept of "clean" and "unclean" meat was developed during this period. Thus, porcupines, hare and tortoise were "clean", while dog was not. Beef eating was also beginning to be looked down upon

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



in Madhya Desha although it was popular in the north-west. For *Shraddhas* Manu mentions fish, goats, gazelles, kids, spotted deer, black antelope, boars, buffaloes, hares, tortoises, rhinoceros and birds. But certain sections of *Manusmriti* seem to be against meat eating. The *vanaras* (monkey-totem Food-Gathering Adivasis from whom most of us must be descended) were vegetarians; and the Advanced Hunters-*rakshasas*—great meat-eaters.

Drinks—After the departure of Rama, Ayodhya was like a tavern deserted by the drinkers, in the poetic imagery of Valmiki (*Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda,* 114.14). Bharata comments on the absence of the aroma of *Varuni* after the death of Dasaratha. (*Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda,* 114.14). Seeta enjoyed Maireya wine and promised to worship the river goddess with a thousand pitchers of wine. (*Ramayana, Uttara-Kanda* 42.18/*Ayodhya* 52.89). Krishna's bosom-companion in his drinking bouts was Arjuna. (*Mahabharata, Udyoga,* 59.5). The Yadavas, the tribe to which Krishna belonged, were killed, as is well known, in a drinking brawl. In the *ashwamedha* (horse-sacrifice) of Yudhishthira the amount of liquor consumed has been compared to a sea (*Mahabharata, Ashwamedha,* 89.39). "Virtuous" ladies, like Sudeshna, drank wine, and some so hard that they could not walk straight. (*Mahabharata, Virat* 15.10/*Adi* 222.21). *Maireya* was the aristocratic drink. The ascetic, Bharadvaja, served it in his party to Bharata. *Varuni* was prepared from the juice of palm fruits and dates and was very popular in Ayodhya. *Sidhu,* which was the daily drink of the non-Aryans, was distilled from the juice of sugarcane and *dhataki* flowers.

7. *Circa* 75-300 *A.D. Kushan/Shaka/Satavahana period:*

We get much information from the *samhitas* of Charaka and Sushruta, the *smriti* of Yajnavalka, and the *Vishnu Dharma Sutra.* Food—Charaka (1st-2nd century A.D.) praises the meat of goats, *rohita* fish (carp), tortoises, deer, parrots, quails, partridges, hares, peacocks, and alligators. (*Charaka Sutra* 27.86). Other animals whose flesh was eaten were sheep, geese, cocks, porcupines, pige-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ons, cows, jackals, fish and some birds. (*Charaka Sutra* 27.312-315). Of the flesh of animals which live in holes he recommends the *Godha* (alligator/iguana). (*Charaka Sutra* 25.37-8). Sushruta, in the 4th century A.D., still considers beef to be pure (*pavitra*) (*Sushruta Sutra* 46. 89), in the tradition of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (VI. IV. 18). Meat was prepared in a variety of ways—soups, fried, roasted, rolled, cooked with vegetables etc.

Drinks—Both Charaka and Sushruta prescribe a limited use of wines and consider this habit good for health, specially in winter. Charaka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourshing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner. Excessive drinking was frowned upon. But the *Bhela Samhita* gives many recipes—against hang-overs and the "morning-after" effect. Others: Aparna Chattopadhyay has pointed out that Charaka does not prescribe any alternative diet to a non-vegetarian. one. The presumption is that there were still no pure vegetarians. (*Indo-Asian Culture,* New Delhi, January 1968, p. 65). She has also pointedly referred to the fact that *haridra* (turmeric), widely used today by all and sundry, is not mentioned by Charaka and Sushruta. Aryo-Indian tradition still had not accepted it. Chillies are also not mentioned. While onion and garlic were formerly freely taken the *smritis* now prohibit them. Charaka does not even conceive of the use of oil as a cooking medium, and Sushruta does not recommend it. A strange aphrodisiac (to our present day notions) was an omelette made of crocodile eggs, *ghee* and rice-flour (*Charaka Chikitsa* II 28-29). This shows how free the Aryo-Indians were from prejudices in those days.

*8. Circa* 300-750 *A.D.—Gupta period broadly:*

Food—People generally avoided the meat of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, lions, monkeys, frogs, bears and apes. Those who did not were looked down upon in society. In the Madhya Desha the peafowl was considered a delicacy, and artisans were beef-eaters. (*Brihaspati Smriti I.* 128-29). But there was growing disapproval of meat-eating, the result of nearly 1000 years

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of Buddhist effort. Even the *Kamasutra* (12.7) recommends against it. Bhavabhuti pokes fun at meat eating (*Uttara Rama Charita* IV. 87). A copper plate inscription dated 465 A.D. indicates that a slayer of cows was considered a sinner. (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III. p. 71). Flesh of various animals were still served to Brahmans at *Shraddhas* (*Vayu* 82/*Matsya* 16, 17/*Kurma* 20). But some of the *Puranas* prescribe vegetarian dishes even in *shraddhas*, where meat was obligatory before. According to the Buddhist pilgrim, Hsuan Tsang (7th century A.D.), Harsha of Kanyakubja, a pro-Buddhist ruler, prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of flesh as food to cease "throughout the five Indies."

Drinks—Many varieties of drinks were in use. Kalidasa's dramas have many references to drinking. It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women —aristocratic ladies, therefore, enjoyed drinking. Indumati, the queen of Aja, liked to receive her wine from the mouth of Aja (*Raghu-vamsa* VIII.68). The *Harshacharita* names beautiful ladies who had drunk wine. Kumarila Bhatta mentions that in Ahicchatra and Mathura even Brahman women drank. Ajanta paintings also depict scenes of drinking such as wines being brought in large jars. Hsuan Tsang states that the Kshatriyas drank wines prepared from grapes and sugarcane, the Vaishyas strong fermented preparations, and the Shramanas and Brahmanas, grape and sugarcane syrup. *Soma* was still available. In the south even Brahmans drank (K. A. Nilakantha Sastri—*A History of South India,* London 1958, p. 194), and rich liquors were imported from the West for the royal table.

Others—Brahmans of the North still ate from the same plate with their wives, children and friends. Brahmans from the South ate sitting on couches. And Brahmans of both North and South saw nothing wrong in taking cooked food that remained in pots after their friends and relatives had partaken of it.

9. *Circa* 750-1200 *A.D. Post-Gupta period :*

Meat—Some of the *Puranas* still prescribe the meat

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



of "clean" animals for feeding Brahmans in a *Shraddha*. Brahmans liked buffaloes. Al-Masudi says that sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceros, buffaloes, fish, birds, sparrows, doves, peacocks and pigs were killed for food. Al-Beruni, in the 12th century, says that people generally abstained from beef, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales and all kinds of eggs. But in times of scarcity even these were allowed. (*Katha-sarit Sagara III.* 9-10). Kumarapala of Gujarat-Rajasthan, a meat-addict in youth, influenced by the Jains, issued in the 12th century A.D. edicts against the slaughter of animals—the *amarighoshanas*. The food habits of Rajasthan and Gujarat were thus considerably changed.

Drinks—The drink habit continued. Women liked the *varuni* variety of wine. In the *Shukra-niti-sara*, distillation of wine is regarded as an art and moderate use of wine is recommended. On the occasion of marriage feasts drinking was common, specially among Kshatriyas. Medhatithi says that while Brahmana women did not drink wine at festivals, Kshatriya and other women, to whom drinking was not forbidden, indulged in excessive drinking on such occasions. From Al-Beruni's account it appears that by the 12th century a section of people belonging to the higher castes abstained from drinking. Most of the *Dharma Shastras* of this period also condemn drinking by the three higher castes.

10. *General conclusions :*

It is thus seen that the food habits of Indians changed appreciably over the 3000 years, 1800 B.C. to 1200 A.D. Originally all kinds of meat etc. were eaten, including alligators, rhinoceros and crocodile's eggs. Meat for Brahmans in *shraddhas* was obligatory. Even in the last period covered the Brahmans liked buffalo meat. The Aryo-Indians delighted in drinks of all kinds. Seeta liked the *maireya* and Bharadvaja served this, among other things, in his party to Bharata. Indumati liked to have her drink from her husband's mouth. In Yudhisthira's *ashva-medha* sacrifice there was an "ocean" of liquor. Arjuna was Krishna's bosom-companion in drinking bouts. All this is

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



quite different from the usual picture presented to us. Yet, because of intensive Buddhist and Jain propaganda, vegetarianism and teetotalism won the day. Hinduism absorbed much of Buddhism, proving that if one is persistent enough everything is possible. Chillis or red pepper, so characteristic of present day Indian, and specially South Indian cooking, is nowhere in the picture. It was a 16th-17th century Portuguese innovation into India from the New World, as were the potato and the maize. (A. L. Basham—*The Wonder That was India*—Indian edition, 1967, Calcutta, p. 216).

## B. Women's Dress

(Among books on the subject may be mentioned Dr Moti Chandra's *Pracheen Bharatiya Vesh-Bhusha* (Hindi, Allahabad, 1955) ; G. S. Ghurye's *Indian Costume,* 1957 ; Jamila Brij Bhushan's *The Costumes and Textiles of India,* London, 1958 ; Charles Fabri's *A History of Indian Dress,* Calcutta, 1960 ; and Kamala Dongerkerry's *The Indian Sari,* New Delhi, undated).

Let us imagine India to be a beautiful young princess. She is like a magician and has changed her appearance, her clothes and her food and habitation ten times. In Stage 1 (Food Gatherers) she wears the barest of clothes, made out of leaves, a sort of mini-skirt, her bosom bare ; she eats fruits, nuts, berries, small animals, anything which she can dig out or trap ; she lives in a thatched house in the forests along with many others of a large group, all huddled together. She is a dusky maiden, broad-nosed, shortish, plumpish.

In Stage 2 (Advanced Hunters) she is still short, dark, broad-nosed, but lithe, athletic, lissom, without an ounce of extra fat to her. She wears a bark-skin or leopard-skin mini-skirt, garlands, flowers in her hair, and carries a bow and arrows. She is now a *Savari,* a Diana, "nymph and huntress", and eats what she hunts. A *Vanacharavadhu* of Kalidasa, she still lives in huts in the forest, but the floor is often laid upon with the skins of animals which she has killed.

In Stages 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists) she is a fair-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



skinned princes, of a matrilineal tribe, slender, with delicate features, and black hair, doe-eyed, richly bedecked, wearing cotton mini-skirts, garlands and flowers in her hair; she eats cooked food, cereals, vegetables, fish, meat of all kinds, fruits. She washes them down with home-made wine which lends an enchanting colour to her fair cheeks. She lives in a spacious bamboo and thatched palace and sleeps on a matted room along with many girls, her relatives, living with the chieftainess, her mother.

Stage 4 (Early Technologists) she skips for she takes no liking to changing her pleasant way of life for tinkering with metals from those horrible mines.

In Stage 5 (Warrior Nomads) she is a fair-skinned Aryan princess, tall, slender, with fine-features, grey-eyed, brown-haired, in wool, with her dress hanging from her shoulders to her ankles, a belt round her lissom waist. On her head is a tiara, she wears necklaces, earrings, bracelets. On occasions she milks herself, although a princess, for she is a *duhita* (one who milks, like English daughter, or German *tochter* or Russian *doch* and still more, Iranian *dukhtar*), the milk from which the butter is prepared, which she clarifies so that it will stay in the warm climate of her new home. She calls it *ghrita,* and cooks with it, unlike the oil which her non-Aryan step-mother uses. She eats a lot of meat, chiefly beef, fruits and various dairy products, including much cream, which she cannot deny herself and which will make her one day full-girthed like her Amazonian mother. She lives in spacious tents, the floor spread over with animal skins and rush carpets, rich hangings from the top decorating the inside.

Then she changes to Stage 6 (Indusian River-Valley Civilization). She is an Indusian *apsara* priestess now, also a princess. Again she is bare-breasted, but diaphanous robes cling to her, sometimes from her shoulders to the ankels, sometimes to the knees, as she fancies. She is bejewelled, and in winter throws an imperious shawl round her upper limbs. She is fair-skinned, black-eyed, black-haired, her features finely chiselled, imperious, dis-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



fainful. She loves to nibble from all the various kinds of food, cooked cereals, vegetables, meats of all kind, fishes, fruits, and heady drinks which the superstitious and credulous dark devotees bring to her as offerings. She lives in the West Town, high up the citadel, frowning on the coolie lines in the East. Every morning, a river goddess, she "rises fairer from the waves", from the Great Sacred Bath, a lovely holy *apsara,* to the peeing eyes of heavy-axed, rough chariot-riding blond barbarian Aryans, who will soon come in numbers and storm her city.

The scene changes. She is now in Stage 7A, Hindu Theo-Aristocratic. She has a light-brown skin, her soft features are slightly irregular, her hair is jet black, she is dressed in a three-piece, a lower coloured *paridhana* of cotton, reaching to her knees, tied with a *mekhala* or *rasana,* a *cholaka* or *kanchuki* tied round her swelling breasts, a diaphanous *uttariya* flung round her head and shoulders. Her food is sophisticated and rich, wheat, rice, vegetables of all kinds, various sorts of meat, including, for most part of the period, beef. Like Seeta she likes the *mamsa-bhutaudana,* meat, rice, vegetables and spices cooked together—but no chillies, for chillies are unknown to India as yet. For drink she has the *maireya,* spiced liquor with *guda* or sugar, prepared from the bark of the *meshashringi* (*gymnema sylvestre*). She lives in a palace, of seven storeys, with barrel vaulted roofs, and gable-ends with ornate filials. Her bedroom *gavakshas* ("cow's eyes") and balconies overlook the landscape garden (*krirashaila*).

Now she passes to Stage 7B, Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic. As she comes running in from outside, she flings aside her black *burqa* and reveals herself in a dainty ensemble, *shalwar, kameez, peshwaj, dopatta,* bedecked with exquisite gold, silver and precious stone jewellery. She nibbles from the food trays on the white sheet—*pulao, biriyani, koftas, kormas, kababs, kalias, halwas, jalebis, phirnis* etc. The Shahjahani arches lead out to a Persian garden, with cypresses and oblong pools of water in regular paved channels, fountains caressed by the sun's rays, and *bulbuls.*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



There is a flash-back. She is back to Stage 8, Buddhist Theo-Mercantile. In both she is the same person as in Stage 7A. Again she goes back to the three-piece in wear, again she lives in the same type of house as she did in 7A, but more aesthetic and refined, with *Jataka* murals on the walls and a sandstone statute of Buddha, the *Tathagata* ("He who has arrived there") in the niche. She is now vegetarian, she touches no alcohol.

There is a whirlwind, and she is in 7C (Sikh Theo-Aristocratic) on the banks of the Ravi, in the 19th century. She is now dressed as she did in 7B (Muslim Theo-Aristocratic), lives in somewhat the same type of house, but prefers *makai-ki-roti* (maize bread) and *sarson-ka-sag,* washed down by plenty of pure milk.

The platform whirls and she is in Stage 9, Rational-Humanist, a refined Bengali Brahmo lady in the last decades of the 19th century, long-sleeved, wearing the *saree* in a new way—as her sisters over most of India will do after her, her face light-brown, with always a smile on her lips. To her rice and fish diet she has added omelettes, pastries, bread and butter, and tea. She shudders at the sight of beef, takes no alcohol, but likes chillies, specially in her *macher jhol* (hot fish). She will disbelieve it if anyone tells her that chillies were once unknown in India. Her house is large, built by an ancestor in Whig style, with Greek porticoes, Corinthian columns, Venetian blinds, and immense oil-portraits on the walls.

The Time Machine now whirls rapidly and it is 2000 A.D. She is in State 10, Scientific-Democratic, a belle from anywhere in India, dark-brown, with irregular but charming features. She is comfortable in orange print pants and a top of deeper orange, and her mate is dressed in exactly the same colours. Her food is multinational, Mughlai, South Indian, Chinese, French, Polynesian, at her choice, often mixed in the same meal. Her house has Indian touches and Indian interior decor, but otherwise it may be anywhere in 2000 A.D.—Kiev, Nottingham, Marseilles, Wichita (Kansas), Lagos, Shimonoseki, Foochow.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Everything thus changes, as if the same spirit changes her habitation when it is no longer of interest to her.

It is quite incorrect to say that Indian women have always worn the saree—against all the evidence of sculpture and literature. As Charles Fabri says in the book cited above: "Saris in the modern sense are out of the question, and anyone presenting Shakuntala or Sita or any other heroine of these old days with a sari, exposes himself to ridicule" (p. 9).

In the Muslim-Indian phase the three-piece of the Hindu-Indian came to be known as the *choli—ghaghra—orhni* (modice—skirt—head-kerchief) ensemble. The first two came to be sewn and tailored, unlike pre-Islamic times. The modern saree is the *dopatta* or *orhni* grown long and tucked around the skirt, whilst the old skirt has become the petticoat under the saree. The saree has undergone further change in the last twenty years or so, and is no longer used by the middle and upper classes to cover the head, (Charles Fabri—Op. cit. pp. 14, 26).

One is almost reminded of the *Bhagavad Geeta,* I. 22:

Vasamsi jeernani yatha vihaya
Navani grihnati naroh-aparani
Tatha shareerani vihaya jeerna-nyanyani
Samyati navani dehi.

(Even as a man casts off worn-out clothes, and puts on others which are new, so the embodied casts off worn-out bodies, and enters into others which are new).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 30

# THE HARBINGERS OF CHANGE

CHANGE CANNOT OCCUR by itself. There must be human agents affecting it. And equally, as one sees from experience, those with vested interests would oppose change. Thus, on *a priori* grounds one can postulate that changes within a society come about as a result of strife, contention, tension, clash between Progressives and Conservatives. It is difficult to get material to prove or disprove the hypothesis, in enough detail, except for fairly recent times. History in the past was not written with social forces in mind. But we can consider a few recent cases, and if there is a pattern, it would be logical to extrapolate it both in Space (to other areas) and in Time (past and future), having in mind the sameness of Raw Human Nature.

Let us take politics and government, regarding which more chronological and other information is available than in other fields of human endeavour. Let us also take societies which have trailed West Europe and America in the recent past—Russia, China, Japan and Turkey, over the last few centuries.

In Russia we find that Peter the Great (*regnebat* 1682-1725) was a Progressive, to put it mildly. His immediate successors were dominated by the boyars and the clergy (1725-40). Elizabeth (1741-62) was modernising, as was Catherine (1762-96), in the earlier part of her reign. Later, frightened by the French Revolution she became reactionary, gave more privileges to nobles and made serfdom harsher. Her son Paul (1796-1801) was autocratic and Conservative. Alexander I (1801-25) was Progressive, but the next ruler, Nicholas I (1825-55), was a harsh Conservative. Alexander II (1855-81) was known as the "Liberator" for his Progressivism. Reaction came under Alexander III (1881-94) and the weak Nicholas II (1894-1917), who was forced to yield to Progress. Thus we see a Progressive *v* Conservative syndrome. The Transformation of Nature, under

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Peter the Great and his successors, was effected with the help of external assistance. The Theo-Aristocrats and Conservatives held Russian society in a vice-like grip over long periods, when all the time there was a radiation of progressive ideas, and osmosis of cultural influence, from the West European Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic civilizations. This engendered great tensions among the elite groups, as portrayed, for instance, in Turgenev's "Fathers and Sons", with one generation not comprehending the other, and both fighting against each other. Thus, not only was there a conquest of Nature, but a struggle to Change the Consciousness.

In China the same Progressive *v* Conservative struggle is seen. The 1850-64 Taiping rebellion, led by Hung Hsiu-Chuan, was an effort to jump to the Scientific-Democratic stage, but this was foiled by Conservatives, aided and abetted by the status-quo seeking foreign imperialists in China. Nevertheless, after the war-drums were silenced the rulers had to effect a Conquest of Nature with foreign assistance. This was the liberal phase of the rule of the Empress Tzu-Hsi, when Tseng Kuo- fan, Chang Chih-tun and Li Hung-chang built steamships, railroads and iron and steel mills. But the extreme radicalism of the 100 days of Kuang Hsu (1898) frightened Tzu-Hsi and she overthrew him. Typical of this radical interlude was Kuo Seng-tao's dictum "Confucius and Mencius have deceived us", a boldness unkown in India, symbolising the effort to Change the Consciousness of China.

The "Society of Harmonious Fists" (*Yi Ho Tuan*) or "Boxers" which came next, wanted liberal reforms, but they were put down by Tzu-Hsi, aided by foreign imperialists. The Conservatives were thus bolstered up by foreign imperialists for over half a century. In the tension the old Manchu regime broke up (1911). Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the revolutionaries, died in 1916, and Yuan Shih Kai (1916-27) and the Conservatives betrayed the revolution, and the configuration of forces led to the emergence of the war-lords. Ultimately the Kuo Min Tang (KMT) under Chiang Kai-shek triumphed and a phase of modernization began (1927-37). But Japanese invasion and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



conquests cut off the KMT from the urban and the working classes of the north, east and south, and it was forced to depend on the landlords of rural China. It thus became a reactionary party, and a few corrupt families controlled the realm for its own benefit. The KMT thus lost support of the Chinese progressives. Because of the world situation the Japanese invaders had to withdraw. In the vacuum rushed in the Progressives, the Maoists, who took control and began to conquer Nature with foreign (Russian) assistance. Later on, rivalry prevented their collaboration. The Progressive *v* Conservative syndrome is, thus, apparent in modern China also.

The same is the story in Japan. Francis Xavier at Kagoshima in the 16th century impressed the Japanese, and an edict of religious toleration was issued in 1587. But the foreigners, chiefly Spaniards and Portuguese, intrigued, and the Japanese Theo-Aristocrats reversed the edict of toleration in 1597, secluded Japan, and massacred Christians all through 1608-38. Then in the 18th century the Dutch were allowed at Nagasaki and there came Western learning (*rangakusha*) and much modernisation—firearms, ship-building, modern navigation, study of scientific books. In the 18th century there were already scientists with consuming passion for Western learning—Hiraga Gennai, Sugata Gempaku, Honda Rimei, and above all, Shiba Kokan. But the Theo-Aristocrats, Conservatives, struck back with Shinto revival (State Shinto or *wagakusha*), and the official *samurai* cults of *bushido, ninjo* and *giri*. A Neo-Confucian School (*Buke Hatto*) also came into existence. Finally, foreigners decided the Progressive *v* Conservative issue and opened up Japan by bombardments, 1853-63. The Western Tozama leaders and rich merchants (Progressives) overthrew the Theo-Aristocratic Shogunate (Conservatives), and the *Samurai* were beaten by the conscripts, the last effort of the former being the Satsuma uprising (1877-78). Quick modernization came in the Meiji era between 1868 and 1900 under Mutsuhito. Fukuzawa Yukichi was a major force in "Westernization" i.e. Changing the Consciousness. A Conservative imperialist period under the Seiyukai followed (1900-18), during

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



which Russia was beaten in a War. The 1918-30 period was a liberal one, after which economic depression forced conservative-imperialist regimes on the country, culminating in the domination of the war party of Tojo, and wars abroad, 1938-45.

In Turkey, after nearly a century of defeats at Russian hands, Selim III (1789-1807), Mahmud II (1808-34) and Abd-al-Majid (1839-61) tried to modernize the country militarily and legally. The legal reforms however, were not really implemented. The Theo-Aristocrats had a long Conservative innings from 1861 to 1909, except for a short liberal spell under Midhat Pasha in 1876. Abd-al-Hamid ("the Damned") was the notorious, reactionary ruler from 1876 to 1909. The liberal Young Turks then came to power, and their work was brought to fruition by the Progressives under the great Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who tried to Change the Consciousness also.

Thus, a Progressive-Conservative syndrome is clear in government and politics. From all societies, all over the world, at all times, in spite of the scantiness of material, echoes come down of tensions and revolts due to differing ideas, a tension between Progressives and Conservatives. For the "West" and for Greece and Rome this is conceded, but this applies to other societies also as the citations below prove.

*Sumerian*—Gilgamesh story, with its undertones of class conflict.

*Egypt*—Circa 2200 B.C., class war of the First Intermediate Period. In the Middle Kingdom, fight for justice in works like "The Eloquent Peasant"—Akhenation's Monotheism and Ethics (Progressive) and losing fight with the Conservative Priesthood—the Class War of 1102 B.C.

*Mayas*—Late period, 800 A.D., the charisma of the Priest-Rulers failed and there were, apparently, revolts.

*Babylonia*—Chaldean rulers (e.g. Belshazzar), probably innovators *v* old-type priests, serving as fifth-columnists for the Medes and the Persians.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Hittites*—Class division, leading to the ease of destruction once the ruling classes lost the monopoly of iron.

*Hebrews*—Prophetic Party (Social Justice) *v* Baalists (Conservatives). Pharisees and Sadducees (Conservatives) *v* Essenes (Progressives, the sect to which Jesus Christ, in all probability, belonged).

*Old Persia*—3rd—7th century B.C.; Sassanian Zoroastrian Theo-Aristocrats *v* Communistic Mazdakites, Heresies like Zurvanism etc. This class division led to easy defeat at the hands of Arab Muslims.

*Arabo-Persian Muslim*

The rise of Islam (Progressive) against idolatrous, wine-bibbing Meccan aristocracy (Conservative); Conservative *sunnis v* Progressive sects—Qadarites, Mutazilities, Ismailis, Sufis.

*Chinese Theo-Aristocratic*

Conservatives *v* "Hundred Schools of Philosophy" 481-201 B.C.; Chin Shih Huang Ti (Progressive Centraliser) *v* the nobles, the *chum tzu.;* Various revolts (1st and 2nd centuries A.D.)—Red Eyebrows 10 A.D./Yellow Turbans 184 A.D.

*Chinese Theo-Mercantile*

Persecution of the Taoists, 3rd—6th century A.D.; 9th century, persecution of Progressive Buddhism.; Sung period, Conservatives *v* Innovators, Reforms of Wang An Shih, 11th century.

*Japanese Theo-Aristocratic*

16th century, Protestant Buddhist sects of Amidism—Shin, Nichiren, Zen (Progressives).; 18th-19th century—Samurai (Conservative) v Non-Samurai.

Such tensions can be seen in Hindu-Buddhist India also, in spite of the meagre historical records, as illustrated below—

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



| | *Progressives* | *Conservatives* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Aryans with iron weapons. | Resisting Indusians/Adivasis. |
| 2. | Breaking up of forest tribes by the Aryans and putting them to work in the fields — effect, increased production. | Adivasi resisters. |
| 3. | Machiavellian and ruthless tactics of centralising rulers—greater production. | Resisting states. |
| 4. | Jainism / Buddhism / Ajivika doctrines. | Brahmanic *Yajnas.* |
| 5. | Trading activities of the *Vish.* | Brahman and Kshatriya attempts to control the vish. The Mauryan controlled economy. |
| 6. | Injunctions against cow slaughter, necessary to preserve cattle to pull the ploughs. | Slaughter of cows for *yajnas.* Yajnavalkya for eating cows. |
| 7. | Ashoka's application of Buddha's Doctrine of Social Harmony. | Shunga Orthodoxy. Manu's prescriptions against Shudras. |
| 8. | Land grants to Brahmans under Guptas—spread of better agricultural techniques under integrating ideologies. | Shudra resistance. |
| 9. | Pauranic Hinduism. | Brahmanic Vedic *yajna* religion. |
| 10. | Compassion of Mahayana Buddhism. | Shankara's *Maya* doctrine and practices. |
| 11. | Southern devotional cults/Heterodox religious sects. | Orthodox Brahmanism. |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



12. Kaivarta rebellion. Suppression by Pala and other feudal landlords.

A strong presumption can be made, therefore, that a Progressive v Conservative Syndrome has existed at all stages, in all societies, and in all fields of activity. The forces giving rise to new Stages of Development have often been *sui generis,* i.e. largely Internal (for instance, in West Europe, chapters 25 and 26), but External Forces have been very important also in many cases, even the main force, as the treatment below illustrates. The "modernization" dealt with in this chapter has been effected thus—

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia— | Internal, trying to catch up with West Europe, then America. That is to say, West Europe and America as models. |
| China— | Internal, but both fighting against as as well as assisted by External Forces. External societies serving as models. |
| Japan— | Internal, to stave off occupation by External Forces. External Societies as models. |
| Turkey— | -do- |

The position in India has been as follows—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Stage* 1 (Food Gatherers) | —External Forces—Links with South East Asia/China/East Central Africa/Central Asia. |
| *Stage* 2 (Advanced Hunters) | —East Africa. |
| *Stage* 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists) | —North-West, Iran, Baluchistan. |
| *Stage* 4 (Early Technologists) | -do- |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



| | |
|---|---|
| *Stage* 5 (Warrior Nomads) | —Central Asia. |
| *Stage* 6 (Priest-Technologist-Managers) | —*Sui generis.* The main driving force was the Conquest of Nature (in the North-West). |
| *Stage* 7B (Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic) | —External Forces. Interaction of Hindu Theo-Aristocratic with Turkish-Islam and Mughal-Islam Theo-Aristocratic. |
| *Stage* 8 (Buddhist Theo-Mercantile) | —*Sui generis.* As a result of increasing trade, of the growth of cities, of urban needs. |
| *Stages* 9 and 10 (Rational-Mercantile-Humanist or "Bourgeois"; and Scientific-Democratic-Feminist or "Modern"). | —A veneer, due to External Forces. Largely imposition by British Bourgeois and British Modern, with the help of certain sections of the elite. |

Thus, to sum up the lessons of this chapter, (i) there is, demonstrably, a Progressive-Conservative Syndrome in all societies; (ii) change is a resultant of Internal and External Forces, both acting on a society, with either set predominating.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 31

# SOME IMPORTANT MYTHS OF INDIAN HISTORY*

## A. General

M.1. Indian civilization is the oldest in the world.

T.1. This is incorrect. The Old Stone Age had affinities with South East Asia and East Africa, the Middle with Central Asia but were posterior. (Chapter 5).

The neolithic or matrifocal peasant culture arose in West Asia in the 8th millennium B. C. It came thence to India only in the 4th millennium B. C. (Chapter 7).

As established today the Sumerian, Egyptian, possibly the Hwang-ho river valley civilizations pre-dated the Indusian, but the Indusian origins may lie earlier. (Chapter 13).

M.2. Those who speak Indo-Aryan languages are Aryan by race, those who speak Dravidian are Dravidians.

T.2. This is not correct. Linguistic and racial (somatic) characterisation are two different things. The Semitic-speakers are Caucasoids, the non-Aryan speaking Finns and Hungarians racially indistinguishable from their neighbours, the English-speaking American Negroes are racially different from their White brothers.

M.3. India is the homeland of the Aryans. The Indus Civilization is Aryan.

T.3. Untrue. All the evidence is against it. There is strong circumstantial evidence that the rulers of the Indus civilization were Dravidian-speaking Brahmans. (Capter 9, 11, 13).

M.4. The Aryans drove back the Dravidians to the South. The Rama story symbolises this.

T.4. False. The original Dravidians were Dark White men who came to the Deccan from Iran. A group went to the extreme South and pushed up. The whole country was

*In this chapter 'M' represents myth, and 'T' the truth

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



originally Munda-speaking. The North became Aryanised in language, the South, Dravidianised. The Dravidian-speaking Brahmans of the North were absorbed. (Chapters 9, 10, 11, 13, 14).

The Ramayana story deserves a little attention. The initial local is Ayodhya, in Kosala in the East, permeated with Adivasi Munda influence in those days. The work *Kosala-Tosala* like *Anga-Vanga* is Austric (Munda). According to the *Valmiki Ramayana* Rama is "bluish" in complexion (35.15-20), which can only be accompanied for by a good deal of Adivasi blood. The Valmiki Ramayana story, as H. D. Sankalia has pointed out, is late. Chinese silk (*Kauseya*) is mentioned therein and signet rings (of Indo-Greek type). On archaeological evidence, therefore, the earliest date of the Valmiki Ramayana can be the 2nd century B. C. There is reference to Ravana in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (1-6). But Rama is not mentioned, nor in the Vedas. In the Mahabharata, Markandeya tells the Rama story to Yudhisthira in the Vana-Parva. Hence, archaeologically, if the Pandavas represent Iron-using Aryans, i.e. 11th century B. C., the Ramayana story must pertain to an earlier era. Pargiter places Rama round about 1400 B. C., using the Puranic King Lists. 1400 B. C. would pertain to the Copper Hoard and Ochre Coloured Pottery Culture (Chapters 7, 9), and Ravana may well be an Indusian refugee somewhere in Central India. As he was a Pulastya Brahman and noted for his austerities, or *tapas*, this interpretation seems feasible. South India was not penetrated by the Aryo-Indians till the 5th century B. C. or so; and the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Mahavamsa*, know of no Ravana. Hence the chief strand in the story is the fight between a Kosala prince of mixed birth and a king or prince of Indusian provenance in Central India, who had abducted his wife. The culture of the *sabha, jana-pada, pura* etc. also fits in with such a period. Later on there were many accretions. Rama must have been particularly friendly with, and generous to Brahmans, and they have glorified him for this.

M.5. We are Europeans turned dark by the sun.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

T.5. No. According to Darlington there have been no gene mutation in the human race for about 10,000 years. Arabs, Mongoloids etc. living under the torrid sun do not turn so dark. Our darkness is due to Adivasi blood. (Chapter 11).

M.6. We may be somewhat mixed but are nearer to the Europeans than to the Adivasis.

T.6. Incorrect. The racial mix varies from area to area, and in different strata in the same area, but, our racial affinities are overwhelmingly with the Adivasis. (Chapters 9, 11, 14, 16).

M.7. Muslims are foreigners.

T.7. Untrue. Barely 8% of Muslim-Indians are of ultimate foreign origin. In the North West the origin, indeed, is largely Vedic Aryan. No Arabic, Turki or Persian is spoken anywhere in India. (Chapter 17).

M.8. Muslims are low class converts, who adopted Islam to escape the *jiziya* or poll tax.

T.8. False. There is no mention of such mass-scale conversions in either the *tarikhs* or the *tabaqats*. Most of those converted were erstwhile egalitarian Buddhists, left leaderless. (Chapter 17).

M.9. Muslims conquered India because of their unscrupulousness.

T.9. The Turks conquered mainly because of their cavalry and compound reflex bow, the Mughals because of their artillery. Both had a larger pool of talent because of their meritocracy.

The Hindus equated birth in a particular *jati* with a particular type of merit. Hence the failing was basically in Science and Scientific concepts. (Chapter 17).

M.10. The British conquered India because of their unscrupulousness.

T.10. The British won because of their navy, their immensely superior artillery and gunnery, and the discipline of their troops. The Indians had also no 'one nation' feeling then. Southern soldiers were employed to conquer Bengal, Poorbeahs to conquer Marathas, Jats, Muslims and Sikhs,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


and Jats, Muslims and Sikhs to hold the rest of India down. (Chapters 25, 26).

M.11. Western superiority and achievement is due to their white skins.

T.11. False. They had white skins before the 16th century. Arabs, Persians, Turks etc. also are whites. Besides, not all the whites of Europe participated in the rise of Science and technology. (Chapter 23).

M.12. Western superiority is due to their eating meat, specially beef, and drinking alcohol.

T.12. The superiority in science and technology and the evolution to higher Stages of Civilization than elsewhere can be fully explained by the cumulative results of a favourable configuration of forces over the last 400 years. (Chapter 23).

M.13. India is unchanging.

T.13. False. India has changed, the country as a whole as well as the various regional components, continuously. (Chapters 27 and 28).

M.14. India's development has been peculiar to herself.

T.14. Untrue. She has passed through various Stages of Development, like other societies, and the same ground rules have applied. (The whole book, up to Chapter 28).

M.15. India is more spiritual than other countries.

T.15. Not true. All the Theocratic, Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile societies have been intensely religious. This sort of religious fervour ceased with Rational-Humanism and Scientific Democracy. (Chapters 13, 15, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26).

M.16. The Orient is spiritual, the Occident material.

T.16. Same answer as to Myth 15.

M.17. For the lack of Indian development the "national character" is mainly to blame.

T.17. Rational-Humanist and Scientific-Democratic values and institutions can be created only by societies possessing these Consciousnesses. Without such Consciousnesses progress is not possible, as West Asia, Africa, South East Asia,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



China in the 19th century testify. Pauranic Hinduism stands in the way of progress. (Chapter 26).

M.18. The Indian climate is responsible for Indian backwardness.

T.18. In spite of the climate there was continuous achievement from 3000 B.C. to 1200 A.D. on her own. Besides, in most places the climate is good for over half the year. (Chapter 4).

M.19. Regions in India have their own characters.

T.19. Mainly to the extent that this is due to geography—food, dress-material, building material etc. The racial mix varies. Some customs and manners, and languages persist. Otherwise all have passed through the same Stages of Civilization, each with similar values and institutions. (Chapter 28).

M.20. The real India is in the villages.

T.20. The towns are also India. In all societies towns have been the nerve-centres of progress. The towns may be Quasi-Bourgeois or Quasi-Modern. But then Theocracy or Theo-Aristocracy is a universal phenomenon, not a permanent characteristic of India because most of her villages are in these Stages today.

M.21. The Anglicised classes are alienated from the rest of India.

T.21. Even before Anglicisation class differences existed. They existed in all societies before they adopted Scientific-Democracy. "Anglicisation" is not the cause for such separate feelings. The remedy is in the modernisation of the whole country, not in the "Anglicised" classes going Theocratic or Theo-Aristocratic. (Chapter 26).

M.22. India will develop if the English language is ousted.

T.22. India has developed so far because of the English language, an international one, of the Scientific-Democratic Stage. People are taking more and more to English. (Chapter 26, Q).

### B. Science And Technology

M.23. Everything is in the Vedas.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



T.23. If so, why are we amongst the most backward of nations ? If we cannot read the Vedas correctly, as some aver, until scientific discoveries take place elsewhere, the Vedas are, for this purpose, useless to us.

M.24. India was very advanced scientifically, but has deteriorated. We had aeroplanes, atom bombs etc., as the epics and the Puranas testify. The Iron Pillar of Delhi still remains.

T.24. Archaeological remains do not substantiate these romantic imaginings. Nor history. We borrowed a lot from West Asia even before we did so from the British. (Chapters 7, 17).

M.25. We concentrated on the spiritual. Therefore science did not develop. It was on purpose.

T.25. Other societies also have known spirituality—T 15 and T 16. There is no record anywhere of having consciously abandoned science for spirituality.

M.26. Indian scientists today are as good as anyone in the world. We do not need foreign help or prying. They are all CIA Agents or Communists.

T.26. Science is international and grows only by cross-fertilization. Modern Indian science has just begun. We should not shut all the doors and windows nor imagine spies round every nook and corner and under the bed.

## C. Economics

M.27. The Indians are lazy by nature.

T.27. There is laziness and low productivity in industry, agriculture etc., although there is great unevenness in this. Tacitus and the Arab historians thought of North Europeans as lazy. It is a matter of the Consciousness, which can be changed.

M.28. The British throttled Indian economic development.

T.28. They destroyed much of Indian handicraft industry. But they also laid the foundations of the modern Indian economy. (Chapters 25, 26).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


## D. Family And Society

M.29. Indians are naturally *Homo Hierarchicus*.

T.29. Warrior Nomads, Theocrats, Theo-Aristocrats, Theo-Mercantilists, all over the world were members of the psychological species, *Homo Hierarchicus*. It is nothing particularly Indian. (Chapters 15, 17, 21).

## E. Politics, Administration, Military Matters Etc.

M.30. Hindu and Muslim have always been *bhai-bhai*/Communalism is a British creation.

T.30. There were four groups—Muslims and Hindu elites, Muslim and Hindu masses. There was more in common among the two groups of masses. The groups co-existed peacefully. There was no "communalism" as either the Muslim or the Hindu was master. Later on, when the two elite groups were rivals, under the British, they enlisted the support of their lower echelons and thus began "communalism", which the British encouraged and exploited. (Chapter 17).

M.31. India's military-political defeats have been due to caste, treachery of her leaders, in-fighting etc.

T.31. It has been due mainly to military-technological reasons, *vide* T 9 and T 10. (Chapters 17, 25 and 26)).

M.32. The British have foisted a bureaucracy, which is unsuited for India.

T.32. Bureaucracy is essential for modern, orderly government. The British created the administrative infra-structure which has maintained India. But, law and order and checks and balances were their main concerns. The system requires change, but no political leader nor civil servant has given any sustained, constructive suggestions in the matter, taking a total perspective view, so far (1975). (Chapter 26, Section I).

M.33. India is not indebted to the British for her administration—it goes back to the Mauryas.

T.33. The *Artha-Shastra* of Kautilya, pertaining to Maurya administration, was discovered only in the early 20th cen-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


tury. We had forgotten all about it. Nor did the British ever refer to it as their source-book. The present legal and administrative framework, nomenclature etc. hearken back to British days. (Chapter 25, section J; Chapter 26, Section I).

M.34. India has always been a democracy.

T.34. There have been Republican Aryan tribes in the North West, who merged with other foreigners and fighting Adivasis to become the Jats. In Buddha's time, before him, and sometime after him there were republican tribes in the North East, which were mainly swallowed up by monarchies—Magadha, Kashi, Koshala etc. The Maurya State was a Police one. Ashoka was no democratic ruler. Neither were the Guptas, Harsha, Turks, Mughals, Marathas and Sikhs. They were Theo-Aristocrats, near-Theocrats. (Chapters 15, 16, 17).

M.35. India has always been secular.

T.35. The word "Secularism" is used in India in the sense of "tolerance", while it really means not only indifference, but positive apathy towards religious doctrines. In this true sense India has not been "secular" as it has been a "Theo" state—Theocratic, Theo-Aristocratic, Theo-Mercantile. Individual free-thinkers existed, but groups grew up only under the umbrella of the Rational-Humanist and Scientific-Democratic Civilizations (of the British).

M.36. India has been a Welfare State

T.36. Apart from Ashoka and to a lesser extent, Ahilya Bai, programmatic "Social Welfare" has not been a plank, and could not be, of Theocratic and Theo-Aristocratic monarchs believing in *homo hierarchicus*. (Chapters 15, 17, 22).

M.37. India has always been non-violent.

T.37. Like all Theo-Aristocratic (and other) states it has been full of violence and war, even after 1947. Ashoka was the only exception, but he "kept his powder dry", (Chapters 15, 17, 22).

M.38. India's foreign policy, from time immemorial, has been friendliness with her neighbours.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



T.38. India was practically a unified country under the Mauryas. The Mauryas, after their victories over the Greeks, had cordial relations with them, as they had with independent South Indian states at the tip of the peninsula. Babar and Humayun were proteges of the Iranian Safavis against the Uzbeks of Central Asia. From Akbar the Mughals were independent of such informal Iranian suzerainty. They were worsted by Portuguese and British naval adventurers. The infiltrations to South-East Asia were largely of privately organised groups. Hence except for the Mauryas and the Mughals, the Myth is irrelevant and pointless. (Chapters 15, 17, 22, 23).

### F. Ideology

M.39. We can have "Western materialism" and "Eastern spirituality".

T.39. By "Western materialism" what is implied are some of the values and institutions of Stages 9 (Rational-Mercantile) and 10 (Scientific-Democratic). And by "Eastern Spirituality", Theocratic or Theo-Aristocratic ideas. They can exist with Theo-Aristocratic ones—for instance, Pauranic Hinduism—only up to a point. Science, technology etc. can be bought, imported and adopted by Theocratic or Theo-Aristocratic societies, but cannot be improved upon, as the relevant Innovating Consciousness is lacking. Furthermore, even technicalization conjures up problems of social relations, ideology etc., which clash with those of a Theocracy or a Theo-Aristocracy. The Values-and Institutions of each Stage of Civilization is a self-contained package. (Chapters 15, 21, 26—Section T).

M.40. Indian philosophy is the most profound in the world.

T.40. This is largely a matter of opinion. There have been subtle scholastic philosophies in all Theocracies and Theo-Aristocracies; for instance, Egypt, Sumeria, Medieval Western Christendom, Arabo-Persian (Theo-Mercantile) Islam etc. (Chapters 13, 15, 17, 21, 22).

M.41. The world is mad about Indian philosophy, *yoga* etc.

T.41. This is a fond nationalistic illusion. Only very

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



limited circles have any acquaintance with *yoga*, Vedanta etc. although the numbers seem to be increasing, along with growing internationalization and cosmopolitanism.

M.42. Hinduism and Brahmans came with the Aryans.

T.42. Hinduism is a syncretism of various faiths from Stage 1 (Food Gatherers) to Stage 8 (Theo-Mercantile), evolved from Gupta times (4th century A.D.) onwards. The Brahmans existed as a pre-Aryan group, the Dravidian-speaking Indusian priest managers. (Chapters 13 and 15).

M.43. Buddhists are Hindus.

T.43. The Buddhist faith was known as that of the *shramans* to distinguish it from that of the Brahmans. The word "Hindu" came to be used later for the syncretistic religion created in India out of various faiths. The Buddhists had fundamentally different ideas from those of Pauranic Hindus. Later, Pauranic Hindus borrowed much of Buddhist philosophy, epistemology, ethics and food and drink taboos. (Chapters 22, 29).

## G. Culture

M.44. Astrology is the pride of India.

T.44. The Indusian Brahmans may have had an esoteric belief in lunar mansions or *nakshatras*, which are mentioned in Aryo-Indian literature, right from the Vedas.[1] But otherwise prognostication was largely through dreams and omens (*utpata*), and by physiognomy, birthmarks, the shape and size of the features etc.[2] The *Jyotisha Vedanga* ("Astronomical Element of Knowledge") deals with the fixation of the dates of Brahmanic ceremonies.[3] No astrological considerations can be found in any Vedic, Buddhist or Jaina texts before the Christian era. However in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era some people were named after stars, indicating the seeping in of astrological ideas, presumably from West Asia, where astrology goes back, through the Chaldeans, right to Babylonian and Sumerian times. Names like Pushya-mitra ('Friend of the Flower'—a star in Cancer), Brihaspati-mitra ('Friend of Jupiter'), Budhamitra ('Friend of Mercury') occur. But it was only under the influence of the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Greeks that horoscopic or zodiacal astrology made its debut in India, thereafter to achieve great popularity.[4] Several words in Indian astronomy and astrology are of indisputable Greek origin. Of the five astronomical systems (*siddhanta*) known to the 6th century astronomer, Varaha Mihira, one is called *Romaka Siddhanta* and another *Paulisa Siddhanta* (referring to the astronomer Paul of Alexandria).[5]

Thus, in her great Theo-Aristocratic days Indians were not obsessed by astrology as they now are, and have been for about 1500 years.

M.45. Indians have never eaten beef.

T.45. This is against archaeological and literary evidence. Indians have been beef-eaters till at least the 5th century A.D., and buffaloes continued to be eaten long there-after. (Chapter 29).

M.46. There has been an urge towards vegetarianism and teetotalism in India.

T.46. This is again against archaeological and literary evidence. In their great days of the Past, Indians ate meat without discrimination and drank freely. Today about half of India only is vegetarian, in spite of 2500 years of Buddhist and Jain, and later, Hindu propaganda. (*Science Today,* September 1973, p.27). And the trend now is in the other direction. (Chapter 29).

M.47. The natural dress of the Indian woman, worn from time immemorial, is the *saree.*

T.47. This is incorrect. For over 3000 years the main dress was the Three-Piece—a skirt, *paridhana*—a bodice, *cholaka* or *kanchuki*—and a head-dress, the *uttariya.* Later this came to be known as the *ghaghra—choli—orhni* (skirt—bodice—head-kerchief) ensemble. The *orhni* or *dopatta* grew long, came to be tucked around the skirt, and ultimately became the *saree,* driving the old skirt into the

M.48. Indians have always worshipped idols, as different symbols of the One Deity.

T.48. We have seen, in Chapter 15, that Pauranic Hindu-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ism is a syncretism. The three major deities—Shiva, Vishnu and Shakti, absorbed between them all vegetable and animal totemistic cults. The many hands, faces etc. of Hindu idols symbolise this syncretism. The worshippers of the idols of the deities see these idols as deities, not as *representing* them. Only the idol is asleep (*supta* or *nidrita*) or awake (*jagrata*).

It has also been seen in Chapter 15 that the syncretism which took place in about Gupta times, led to the rise of temples and of idol worship. The Aryo-Indians till then had been aniconic and had sacrificed on open air altars, while the others had their trees, and their stones, the proto-types of images, and small votive clay deities going back to Indusian times. The temples owed their origin, by all knowledgable account, to Greek stimulus, as is clear from the earliest structures—the Jandial in Taxila, Sanchi (5th century A.D.) and Deogarh near Jhansi (6th century A.D.).

M.49. Chilli, or red pepper, has always been an ingredient of Indian dishes.

T.49. Untrue. It was brought to India in the 16th/17th century by the Portuguese from the New World. (Chapter 29).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 32

# TWO IMPORTANT MYTHS OF WORLDHISTORY: "EAST AND WEST"/"NATIONAL CHARACTER"

## A. General

THE THRUST OF the treatment is:

(i) there is neither "East" nor "West";
(ii) nor are there "national characters";
(iii) there are only Stages of Civilization, cutting across national boundaries, the local hue being given by "folk elements".

## B. "East and West"

In Chapter 15 we have compared certain Theo-Aristocratic societies, drawn from the "East" and the "West" function by function—Science and Technology/Economics/Family and Society/Politics, Administration and Military Affairs/Ideology/Culture. The societies chosen were—Chinese, Japanese, West Asian Islamic, Spartan Greek, Roman, West European "Medievel" and Russian "Medieval". A repetition of the conclusions drawn is well worth the while, at this juncture.

Everywhere technological and scientific thinking is comparatively in the background and in its place we have the extension of techniques and concepts, the legacies of the Theo-Technocrats (Stage 6) and the still earlier "Early Technologists" (Stage 4). There is a mixture of Theocratic charisma and credulity—exploitation, aristocratic force, peasant obedience, and ultimately the Easy Life for the upper classes in the economic field. Everywhere society is class divided, (*Homo hierarchicus*) justice is class based, and woman is held to be inferior and subsidiary to man. In the field of politics there is warrior achievement, "feudal" relationships, and both integration and rivalry with the priestly classes. Everywhere too much of aristocratic warfare and feudal insubordination lead to breakdowns. In the sphere of ideology and culture there is the importance of religious concepts, and of hero lays in the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



earlier phases, much literary sophistication later, and suffusion of the arts and architecture with the religious and martial spirits. These simlarities cut across region and nation and over-ride differences of skin-colour, language, dress, food etc.

But the 'Theo' element, as between various Theo-Aristocratic religions, is a great divider. The Greek and Roman religions were of comparatively simple derivation compared to India; in West Europe and Russia the old hero-religions and fertility cults were swamped by Christianity, originally a religion of the poor, and so, democratic; Turkey was similarly situated, the original Turkish paganism being substituted by a sophisticated Islam, which had its birth in an Arabian mercantile milieu; the Chinese warrior-nomadic religion of the Chou had a backdrop of the Theocratic Shang; in Japan, the situation was in-between that of West Europe and Turkey, the old Shinto being nearly swamped by a sophisticated Buddhism, originally a rational product of mercantile India; and in India the Aryan warrior hero-cults were sandwiched between earlier Indusian Theocratic concepts and the notions of Food-gathering tribes and Matrifocal peoples, of different origins and traditions, into a complex and complicated syncretism. These differing faiths, with their differing backgrounds, coloured the Theo-Aristocratic societies, basically the same, differently; and this difference was the cause for rivalries and disputes between the elites when societies encountered and collided with each other.

In Chapter 22 we have seen that the Indian Buddhist Theo-Mercantile and the Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile are more like each other than is the Indian Buddhist Theo-Mermantile like the Indian Hindu Theo-Aristocratic. This is another proof that the Stage of Civilization, with all its interlinked basic attitudes, values and institutions, cuts across national barriers.

*The Stage of Civilization is a function of economics and similar economics breed similar basic attitudes, values and* achievements.

The terms "East" and "West" have thus no scientific validity. the first five Stages of Civilization—Food Gather-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ers, Advanced Hunters, Matrifocal Agriculturists, Early Technologists, Pastoral Warriors and Pirates—constituting the Era of Primitive Similarity, are world-wide phenomena, each Stage having the same Socio-Economic Mode of Life, the same Consciousness and Basic Attitudes, the same Social Values and Institutions. (Chapters 5 to 9). This proposition applies also to the three Stages of the Era of Theocratic Divergence—Theo-Technocracy, Theo-Aristocracy, Theo-Mercantiledom. The 'theo' element here, however, is a differentiating one.

Europe and Japan had a great advantage in not having had to pass through a Theocratic Stage (Stage 6), with its ideologically dogmatic priest-rulers. This has given these societies an advantage over other societies in a relative freedom of thought. The Rational-Mercantile covered Japan also, as the cumulative effect of a favourable configuration allowed this (Chapter 25), an additional point against the "East-West" myth. This myth grew up in the 19th century, when the Scientific-Democratic Civilization happened to coincide with Europe (largely West Europe) and the United States. Africa was kept out of this categorisation, and ignored. It was neither "East" nor "West". The Stage of Civilization Theory covers Africa also, as we have seen in Chapter 2. The soil of Africa is relatively poor; it is largely densely forested, and full of mosquitoes and the tse-tse fly. No native cereals grew there, as they did in West Asia and Mexico. The forests were too dense for the learning and skills of Egyptian Theo-technocracy to spread too far. As a consequence of this unfavourable Configuration the continent was seriously underpopulated, and consisted of small, isolated communities, for ever struggling with the bush and the jungle. Written history is largely lacking, but it is clear that with the requisite stimulus great civilizations grew up. To illustrate, Al-Bakri (11th century) and Ibn-Batuta (14th century) have testified for the magnificent West Sudan Kingdoms of Ghana, Mali and Songhai.

The Era of Convergence, now on, should gradually see the end of the fallacious "East-West" theory, alike of the "East-West" synthesis idea, as well as that provided in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Kipling's *obiter dictum*—"Oh ! East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet".

### C. The Changing Character of "National Civilization".

If the "East-West" differentiation is invalid, still more is the distinguishing of the "High Civilization" of nations purely on this national (usually linguistic) ground. Stages of Civilization, cutting across national boundaries, each Stage with similar socio-economic Mode of Life, Prevailing Mentality (Consciousness), Basic Attitudes and Social Values and Institutions, are the main realities. We have seen this to be true of India, West Europe, Greece, West Asia (Chapters 13, 15, 17, 23, 26). Some further illustrations are given below.

The Greek has been a Spartan disciplinarian with relatively narrow interests (Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic , Near-Aristocratic) ; an Athenian-Hellenic intellectual and trader, with a wide-ranging curiosity (Stage 9—Rational-Mercantile-Humanist) ; a tortuous Byzantine diplomat, courtier and soldier (Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic).

The Italian has been a Roman soldier (Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic, Near-Aristocratic) ; a mild and loving Christian friar (Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic, a Near Theocratic example) ; a Renaissance prince (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile) ; a 'Galilean' Scientist, after Galileo (Stage 9—Rational-Mercantile-Humanist) ; a builder of industrial empires like ENI and IRI (Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic).

The British have been Druid priests (of an early Theo-Mercantile, Stage 8 ) ; Crusaders with Richard the Lion Heart (Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic) ; Puritans with Oliver Cromwell and John Milton (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile) ; daring navigators and pirates round the world like Sir Francis Drake, plumbers into the human heart like Shakespeare, and colonial imperialists (Stage 9—Rational-Mercantile-Humanists) ; co-originators of the factory system, scientists and socialists (Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic).

The Russians have been Dnieper and Novgorod commercial men, also deeply Christian (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile) ; obscurantist priests and Tsarist exploiters (Stage

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



7—Theo-Aristocratic) ; free-thinking probers deep into the human heart like Turgenev, Chekov, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy (Rational-Mercantile-Humanist, Stage 8, basically) ; and equalizers of society and innovators (Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic).

The Iraqis have been Sumerian priest-technicians (Stage 6—Theo-Technocratic) ; Babylonian traders, intellectuals and aesthetes (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile) ; Assyrian horror-men and imperialists ( Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic) ; and Arab Scientists and free-thinkers of Abbasid days (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile).

The Chinese have been monopolist Shang priest-technicians (Stage 6—Theo-Technocratic) ; Chou fighters and Confucianists (Stage 7—Theo-Aristocratic) ; T'ang-Sung innovators, traders and aesthetes—painting and porcelain (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile). And now austere Maoist reorganisers of society and of values (Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic).

The Japanese have been the *samurai,* steadfast to the last (Stage 7, Theo-Aristocratic) ; the shrewd, sharp merchant, the *chonin,* with developed aestheticism and intellectuality (Stage 9—Rational-Mercantile) ; and the industrialist-innovator, vying even with the Americans (Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic).

The Americans have been close-minded Puritan businessmen (Stage 8—Theo-Mercantile) ; expansive, liberal, but slave-holding Southern gentlemen (Stage 9—Rational-Mercantile) ; and pushing, aggressive modern businessmen, democrats and scientists. (Stage 10—Scientific-Democratic).

Thus, it can be safely asserted that nationality does not determine "High Civilization" of a nation—science, technology, economics, politics, social arrangements, ideas and values. On the other hand, the local hues to various Stages of Civilization are given by "folk elements". Under this head may be involved :

—"ethnic mix", what people look like ;
—language, idiom, proverbs, sayings ;
—dress, specially dress-materials, depending on climate and materials available ;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



—dwelling places, depending on climate and materials available ;
—culinary traditions, like Chinese, French and Persian cooking etc ;
—local arts and crafts ;
—folk music and dances, heritage of Earlier Stages of Civilization ;
—some etiquette and customs.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 33

# CIVILIZATIONOLOGY—THE SCIENCE OF CHANGE

THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS have proved, among other things, the following principles :

—that there are Stages of Civilization ;
—that each has its own Values and Institutions, based on the dominant socio-economic mode of life ;
—that these Stages cut across national boundaries, the national flavour being provided by folk elements ;
—that stage and other changes are brought about by the Progressive *v* Conservative syndrome ;
—that stage changes can never be partial, the whole of the Values and Institutions of a Stage constitute a package ;
—and that changes can be induced in the desired direction by the operation of Five Key Forces, actual or potential, i.e. of Configurational Dynamics—geography, natural resources, geopolitics or external forces, internal class forces, the weight of tradition.

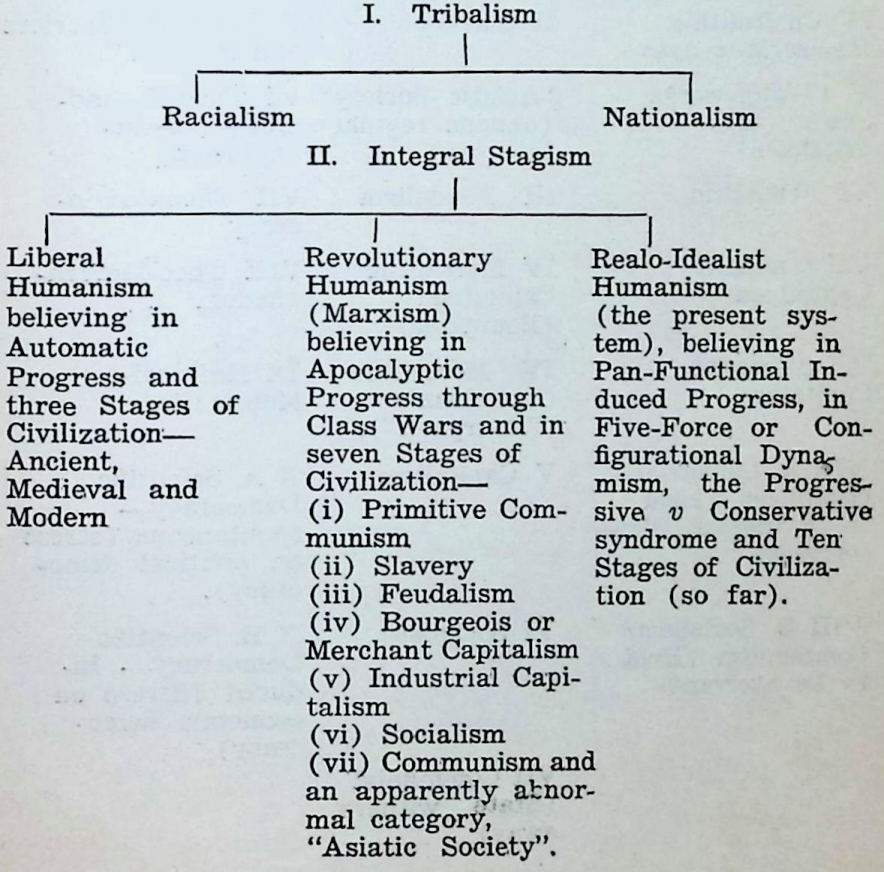
The mental discipline and techniques involved in the comparative study of civilizations may be called "Civilizationology", a term used by Othmar Anderle of Salzburg, founder of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (headquarters in the United States since 1971). The term "Civilizationology" may appear to be too long a one, but it is not difficult to pronounce or remember, because of the number of vowels and liquid sounds involved.

Although the term "civilizationology" may be new, the discipline is fairly old. It has been known as "philosophy of history", "universal history" etc., but the basic facts on which the theories came to be known only from the 20th century. All persons have some civilizationological ideas (e.g. nationalism, racialism, Marxism etc.), although they may not be conscious that it is civilizationology (like Moliere's character who talked "prose" all his life without knowing it!). An account of the important schools of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



civilizationology, along with a critique of them, has been given by the present author elsewhere. (Some Theories of Universal History—*Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol, VII, No. 1, Oct, 1964, The Hague). The present system (worked out in fair detail for India in this book), involving the operation of the principles mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, owes its inspiration basically to two 18th century participants of the West European "Enlightenment", Adam Ferguson, the Scottish professor who expounded the "Stage of Civilization" model; and Robert Jacques Turgot, the French civil servant and intellectual who emphasised the integrated nature of values and institutions of each Stage. This "Integral Stagist" idea has influenced the Liberal Humanists as well as the Marxists. The important schools existing today and the present system are shown below with their parentages, so that their natures become clear.



Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



It will be interesting to compare the Liberal, Marxist and Realo-Idealist Stages the first, as amplified by scholars :—

| *Liberal* | *Marxist* | *Realo-Idealist* |
|---|---|---|
| I (a) Food-gatherers-cum Primitive Hunters (anthropologists) (b) Paleolithic (archaeologists). | I Primitive Communism | I Food-gatherers-cum-Primitive Hunters |
| II (a) Advanced or Big Game Hunters (anthropologists) (b) Paleolithic (archaeologists) | I Primitive Communism | II Advanced or Big Game Hunters |
| III Neolithic | I Primitive Communism | III Matrifocal Agriculturists |
| IV Chalcolithic, Bronze/Iron ages | II Slavery | IV Early Technologists |
| IV Chalcolithic, Bronze/Iron ages | II Slavery | V Pastoral Warriors and Pirates. |
| V "Water-works State" (of Wittfogel) | "Asiatic Society" (outside regular category) | VI Theo-Technocracy (Priest-engineers) |
| VI Feudalism | III Feudalism | VII Theo-Aristocracy |
| VII Merchant Capitalism | IV Mercantile Capitalism (Bourgeois) | VIII Theo-Mercantiledom |
| VII Merchant Capitalism | IV Mercantile Capitalism ("Bourgeois"). | IX Rational-Mercantiledom |
| VIII A. Industrial Capitalism (Held to be "normal" development) | V Capitalism | X A. Scientific Democracy— spontaneous (stress on political democracy). |
| VIII B. Socialism/ Communism (Held to be aberrant) | VI Socialist | X B. Scientific Democracy— Induced (Stress on economic democracy) |
| | VII Communist (State withers away) | |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Note:* In the Liberal scheme Stage V ("Waterworks State") and part of Stage VI ("Feudalism") comprise the "Ancient" period; part of Stage VI spills to "Medieval"; Stages VII ("Merchant Capitalism"), VIII A ("Industrial Capitalism") and VIII B ("Socialism" "Communism") are "Modern".

We have seen that there is neither "East" nor "West", nor any fixed "national character". And that India has always been changing, due to internal or external causes or both taken together, that the changes (Stages of Civilization), the factors affecting change, and the immediate causation of change (Progressives *v* Conservatives syndrome) follow universal patterns. Hence, civilizational analysis, on the basis of comparative civilization, should be of great use in determining the Future Perspective. This is done in Chapters 34 and 35 on a World Scale; and in Chapters 36 to 40, specifically for India, following the World Scale.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 34

# THE CONVERGENCE OF CIVILIZATIONS

WE HAVE SEEN, *in* Chapters 25 and 26, that societies in other stages of civilization have been drawn irresistibly to the Rational-Mercantile-Humanist and Scientific-Democratic. To recapitulate—

*Attraction of the Rational-Mercantile-Humanist*

| *Civilization* | *Process* |
|---|---|
| 1. China | 17th and 18th centuries, Dominicans and Franciscans propagate Christianity and Science but meet with great resistance. |
| 2. Japan | 17th century, Japanese learn technology, specially military technology, from the Dutch (*Rangakusha*)—Appropriation. |
| 3. Turkey | 18th-19th century, appropriate "Western" military science and technology. Formally, legal system also. |
| 4. Persia | Safavis in 16th century appropriate artillery technology. |
| 5. Lebanon | 19th century, under Bashir II, intellectual ferment. |
| 6. Egypt | Modernization, economic, intellectual, and technical from the days of Mehemet Ali in the 19th century. |

*Scientific-Democratic*

| *Civilization* | *Process* |
|---|---|
| 1. China | From the time of Tzu Hsi, appropriation of science and technology. Hung Hsiu-Chuan (Taiping Rebellion) tried to change the Consciousness (both in 19th century) as did Hu Shih, in the |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | 20th Kuo Seng-tao's dictum—"Confucius and Mencius have deceived us". So did KMT, & on KMT failure, wholesale Appropriation and Transmutation under the Maoists. |
| 2. | Japan | 19th century, complete modernisation by Appropriation, but in the ideological field a military "State Shinto"—*Bushido* Code, encouraged. |
| 3. | Turkey | Philosophy of abandoning old ways and adopting new—Tewfik Fikret. Good deal of modernization under the "Young Turks", brought into final fruition by Kemal Ataturk and his followers. |
| 4. | Arab World | Egypt from the 19th century under Mehemet Ali, Said, and the British.<br>—Iraq under Midhat Pasha and then the British.<br>—Lebanon under own dynasty and the French. All mainly by Appropriation, some by Propagation.<br>—Elsewhere modernisation still to take effect. |
| 5. | Persia | Slightly under the Qajar dynasty. But really from the time of Reza Shah Pahlavi, by Appropriation; Jamal-al-din al-Afghani (19th century) and the Bahais in the ideological field—former for Pan-Islam, latter for a Transmuted form of Islam. |

The position now (1976) is as follows:

(i) Japan—Fully modernised.

(ii) China—In the process of being fully modernised, including Change of Consciousness, and an ambitious attempt to create a model for the world—Maoist Man and Woman.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



(iii) Lebanon/Turkey—Not fully modernised, but modernised more than Turkey.

(iv) India, Pakistan, Egypt, Iran—Quasi-modernised; Iran forging fast ahead—as a liberal *Shiah* Islamic country, the sliding of religion to the sub-conscious may well be more easy than in *Sunni* countries.

(v) Rest of the Arab world—Rich with oil, but modernisation and the change of Consciousness still to come.

Thus, there is a convergence, initially often prompted by military reasons. It spread to science and technology, which meant "Western" education. Along with "Western" education came changes in law, administration, social relations, new forms of culture, and the sliding of old religions to the sub-conscious.

A distinction is often drawn between the "Free World" ("Western") and the "Communist World", but they both belong to the Scientific-Democratic Society, as the following Functional Analysis will show, comparing the two systems.

Science and Technology—No difference between the Communist and "Western" systems.

Economics—In the Communist system there are no landlords, private capitalists etc. There is also agricultural collectivisation or communes (which exist in Israel also). But the broad principles of factory management must basically be the same in both the systems.

Politics. Administration, and Military affairs.—Political system different. Communists under various forms of totalitarianism, of Party dictatorship. Administrative and military methods similar.

Social ideas & arrangements—Broadly the same, or becoming the same—of egalitarianism.

Culture—Similarity.

Ideology—In the "West" Christianity has slid into the subconscious or background. Still more so in Russia. Also in Japan, but Buddhism quite a rational religion. In China, Transmutationist attempts to create a new ideology.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Thus, except in economics and politics, the Communist and "Western" systems are overwhelmingly similar, as contrasted with the old Theo-Aristocratic systems of Europe, China, Japan, Iran, the Arab World and India.

The convergence of the civilizations of Russia and America, right from the 19th century, has been well brought out in Professor W.H.G. Armytage's interesting book—*The rise of the technocrats* (London, 1965). Among the highlights are:

—H. C. Carey, virtual editor of the "New York Times", wrote in 1843 *'The Past, the Present and the Future'* where he taught that wealth consists of the power to command the service of Nature. His Russian discipline was N. G. Chernyshevsky, whose *Chto dyelath* ("What is to be done"), (1863) influenced Plekhanov, and through Plekhanov, Lenin.

—The Russian Victor della Vos' Imperial Technical School at Moscow influenced John D. Runkle's Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

—Albert Kahn, who built plants for Packard, Ford, Chrysler and General Motors, went to Russia in 1928, built 521 factories and trained 4000 engineers.

—Americans helped in building the tractor works at Stalingrad and Chelyabinsk, the blast furnace at Magnitogorsk, the copper refinery at Lake Balkash, the giant Drieprostroy plant etc.

—Conversely, in the 19th century, GEC had received Russian patents relating to the arc lamp (Yablochkov) and the carbon filament lamp (Lodykin). The Russians, Boris Rosing and V. K. Zworykin, helped to develop the electronics industry in U.S.A.

—Krzhizanovsky, who believed very much in the *Amerikanski Tempo* and admired Henry Ford immensely, influenced Lenin greatly.

Even in the sphere of economics and politics some convergence may take place in the near future. George N. Halm, in his book, *Economic Systems,* urges "liberal socialism", which he distinguishes it from totalitarian socialism (Communism) and totalitarian capitalism (Fascism).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Centralisation of important decisions has led in America to what has been called the "Imperial Presidency", while Stalinism has thawed. But a very important difference, a fundamental one, is that the Communist countries have no freedom of expression in politics and economics.

Convergence is also taking place in Latin America, South East Asia and Africa.

Why does such convergence take place? Let us analyse the matter functionally. 'Science and Technology' —obviously the appropriation of this benefits a society.

'Economics'—Science and technology can benefit a society through economics—through primary, secondary etc. effects of investment on plants. In societies which became subject to colonial domination the convergence process meant exploitation of labour, of raw materials etc. But in the course of this, modern infra-structures, of general benefit, grew up. 'Politics, administration and military affairs'—Science and technology give the elite greater political power—through better roads, means of communication, transport, weapons etc. It increases military power immensely. We have seen, earlier in this chapter, that many non-Western countries began the convergence process through the appropriation of military technology. Science and technology imply a certain level of education, which breeds "dangerous thoughts", which the ruling elites do not like. They do not want to give real powers to the people, nor change legal and economic systems, in which they have vested interests.

'Social Affairs'—Here again the old elite and the people clash. Scientific-Democracy implies removal of inequalities, of the subjection of women etc., to which the elite at the most pay lip sympathy, but do nothing or little about such matters in actual practice.

'Ideology'—Old ideologies and religions prop up the elite. Hence they do not wish to change them.

'Culture'—In everyday life science and technology give many comforts, which all want—electric light, piped water supply, fans, refrigerators, air-conditioning, buses, trams, cars etc. Also more varied enjoyment through media like the cinema, radio, television, and so on.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



On balance, the Internal Forces favour convergence but the elite would like to have it without real political and social democracy, and to gain their objectives they rouse feelings in favour of traditional ideologies and religions, which give succour to their entrenched positions. The Pull of the Past helps them in this. But, in this Configurational Dynamics, External Forces—military collaboration, trade, foreign contacts, all give fillip to convergence.

Thus convergence is proving irresistible, the imperative to the International Civilization often starting from defence needs, where it is not a colonial imposition for exploitation purposes. And the functional analysis shows that it is good for people at large, although the elite endeavour to keep up the differential between them and the masses.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 35

# THE EMERGING WORLD OF TOMORROW AND OUR ROLE IN IT

*A. General:*

IT HAS BEEN stated in chapter 1, that in each Stage of Civilization we have four phases—Early, Middle, Zenith, or Late. In other terms—Birth/Growth/ Maturity, New Formulations/Final Formulations. It has been seen that this applies to the Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic (Chapter 15), the Maratha Assertion (Chapter 19), the Sikh Theo-Aristocratic (Chapter 20), the Theo-Mercantile Buddhist (Chapter 22), the Theo-Mercantile Arabo-Persian (Chapter 17) and the Theo-Aristocratic Turko-Persian (Chapter 17). For the Muslim-Indian, for political history the periodisation was Empire, Breakdown, New Empire, Breakdown, for the Turko-Mughal phase, where two Theo-Aristocratic societies collided and one overpowered the other (Chapter 17). Here also the normal phase division applies to Muslim-Indian civilization as a whole, thus—

Phase I (Origin)—Arab Phase.

Phase II (Growth)—Turkish Phase.

Phase III (Zenith, New)—Mughal Phase till Aurangzeb.

Phase IV (Late)—Late Mughals, the Nizamate of Hyderabad, the Nawabate of Lucknow.

We have seen such phasings in the Indo-British Rational-Mercantile (Chapter 25) and Indo-British Scientific Democratic (Chapter 26). In the latter these were—

Phase I—Private technocracy (1857-1905).

Phase II—Mixed and regulatory economy (1905-47).

The third phase, of experimentation, new forms etc. is now on.

For the Scientific-Democratic Stage as a whole such phases have been postulated, on a World Scale, in Science and Technology (Chapter 26), thus—

Phase I (17th-18th century)—Coal, iron and steel.

Phase II (19th century)—Electrical, chemical and petroleum industries.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Phase III (20th century)—Light metal industries—automobiles, aeroplanes, synthetic textiles; the use of atomic energy; the conquest of Space. This age is still on.

The periodization applies to the Scientific-Democratic Stage as a whole. For the third phase, (new, maturity, zenith), which is now on, the following illustrations are indicative—

*Politics/Economics etc.* (from early 20th century)

In-fighting between industrial societies for spoils, power and influence (World Wars I & II).

—Rise of Communist States. *Revanche* groups, initially an amalgam of 'Rightist' and 'Leftist' groups, turning to Right Totalitarian (Fascists/Nazis). Groupings for World Federation—League of Nations, United Nations.

*Science and Technology*

X-Ray/Radio-activity/Radio-telegraph/High speed steel /Light alloys/Aeroplanes/Synthetic resins, petro-chemicals/Electronics/Radio /T.V./Atomic Energy /Space Age/ Einstein's Relativity Theory.

*Ideology*

Freud, freer sex/Ideas about the 'Unconscious'/Theories of Women's Freedom, Women's Liberation/Existentialism (Sartre *et al*)/Theory of 'surplus repression' (Herbert Marcuse)/Gropings for a new Vision of Life (including some 'hippies' and other drop-outs).

*Culture*

Experience in fragmented groups, role of the Unconscious—

(i) in literature, D. H. Lawrence, James Joyce, Kaffka etc. (ii) in art—Cubism, surrealism. (iii) in music—intellectual, scientific (atonal); and democratic—sensuous (jazz to pop etc).

New experimentations, like functionalism in architecture:

—Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius.

—Gropings to a Consciousness of World Brotherhood.

—World History or Civilizationology—H. G. Wells, Oswald Spengler, Toynbee, A. L. Kroeber, Pitrim Sorokin, Ruth Benedict etc.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai


It has been seen in Chapter 34 that there is a convergence of civilization going on. The current is too strong for basically a Theo-Aristocratic one like ours to fight against, specially when the ruling elite groups have a vested interest in the Quasi-Modern (i.e. some measure at least of advance). Nor will the current leave India alone. All vital things expand, and the elan of the Scientific-Democratic will overwhelm India, through mainly external forces, if internal modernising ones are not strong enough. (Chapter 26, Section U). The Scientific-Democratic is also good for the people as a whole and is, therefore, doubly welcome, even if it means jettisoning things of the Indian Past which are obsolete (Cf. Chapter 26, Section T). Fortunately, the Quasi-Modern in India is itself in the third phase, of experimentation, of new formulations, as pointed out earlier, and this is of great help.

It is important, therefore, to see what are the current lines of advancement on the World Scale so that we can try to swim to the forefront of the irresistible current, instead of losing direction, going sideways, or trying to swim against the avalanching tide.

B. *Science and Technology.* Science-consciousness has been instilled in the mind of Europe since the 17th century, when Scientific Societies spread rapidly; in America, from her birth. Still, some people decry science even there. In India the number doubtful about science is much more numerous and Mahatma Gandhi was one of them. Pandit Nehru was his opposite in this matter. The American novelist, Joyce Carol Oates, undoubtedly speaks for the majority in the world when she says (in an article in the *Saturday Review of Arts,* 1972) : "It is only through the machine that man can become more human, more spiritual. Understandably, only a handful of Americans have realized this obvious fact, since technology seems at present to be villainous. Had our earliest ancestors been gifted with a box of matches, their first actions would probably have been destructive—or self-destructive. But we know how beneficial fire has been to civilization."

Science and technology have always enabled us to think big. Among the Thinking Big of present-day (1970's)

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



scientists are—Laser beams and their application (including 'death rays' ?) /Telstar type communication/Thinking Machines/Cryogenics, use of super-cold/Biopower, electric energy from living beings/Solar energy/Nuclear fission with breeder reactors/Nuclear fusion, from sea-water, almost inexhaustible, using boron as a moderator/Tidal power/Geothermal energy/Ultrasonics / Ground Effect Machines (GEM), using compressed air/Bionics, duplicating Nature/Conquering Space.

Many other possible innovations are mentioned by writers like H. Kahn and A. J. Wiener (*Towards the Year 2000*) M. Vassiliev and S. Gouschev (*Life in the Twenty first century*), D. S. Halacy Jr. (*Nine Roads to Tomorrow*) etc.

All these efforts require a high degree of public of State support, and international collaboration and cross-fertilization. Without such world interdependence the American, Kuznets, thinks that technological growth is not possible.[1] Nor do the Russians, like Vassiliev and Gouschev, citing a project like the Bering Strait Dam, involving many nations.[2]

C. *Economics.* There is currently a controversy about "zero growth" started by Aurelio Peccei (*The Chasm Ahead,* 1969), Jay W. Forrester (*World Dynamics,* 1970) and Dennis L. Meadows (*The Limits to Growth,* 1972), all using computer techniques, not understood by the laity. These New Priests are in favour of the control of the world economy by technocrats, apparently working under the auspices of multi-national firms. But the main point is the thrust towards internationalisation. Others, of a different ilk, like the architect-philosopher, Buckminster Fuller, speak of techno-economic management of the earth as a whole, the "Spaceship Earth".

There is also a thrust towards world regionalisation—like Comecon (Communist Economics of USSR and East Europe), EEC (European Economic Community—Non-Communist Europe) etc. An important point about economic integration is that large groupings are more or less self-sufficient. Some indication of this is given by the "import coefficient index", the value of the imports divided

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



by the value of the total gross national product, multiplied by 100. For 1968 J. P. Cole gives certain coefficients which are interesting.[3]

China 2/USSR 2/USA4/Indonesia 6/India 7/Brazil 7/ Pakistan 8/Australia 14/Canada 19/Japan 11/France 13/ Italy 16/West Germany 17/U.K. 18/Israel 21/Hong Kong over 100.

Of course, this index does not give the economic level at which the coefficient is maintained. But large units clearly have an advantage over smaller ones. Thus, if the E.E.C. countries form a single economic unit, much of the complications of 'foreign' trade of the member countries would disappear.

J. P. Cole seems to visualise[4] large groupings for the future like: U.S.A. and Canada/Comecon/EEC/Japan/ China/Latin America/India.

Internal concepts are also changing. The American George N. Halm, we have seen, pleads for liberal socialism, to prevent the waste of resources in private capitalism.[5] J. K. Galbraith (*The New Industrial State*) visualises and pleads for the maximisation of sales, instead of profits, to be determined by the "techno-structure", consisting of all those who "participate in group decision-making or the organisation which they form."[6]

Irving Kristol (*Horizon,* Autumn 1972) visualises dough-nut shaped cities to match increased industrialisation. Each will have a hollow centre in which will be located official buildings, some corporate headquarters, some cultural centres. Round this will be suburbs, quasi-suburbs, exurbs etc. where people will live, most people will work, do their shopping and find entertainment.

*D. Social Relations.* The French Revolution dramatised the Scientific-Democratic Stage through three slogans —Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Liberty means not only freedom from unnecessary social restraints, but also Nationalism. Equality is possible only when all are in the Scientific-Democratic Stage, and economically at about the same level. And Fraternity or World Brotherhood can come only through an association of powerful World-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Regions, each imbued with the World Brotherhood Consciousness that only Civilizationology can provide.

Equality comprises person-person as well as man-woman relationships. In theory Scientific-Democratic Man is not *homo hierarchicus* and not xenophobic, but in practice the Traditions of the Past still hold in many places, necessitating Civil Rights Movements and Campaigns against Racism.

Scientific-Democratic Man is also Feminist. Feminism goes back to the days of John Stuart Mill, Mary Wollestone-craft Shelley and Engels in the 19th century. But it has received a great fillip after World War II through the Women's Liberation Movement. Its chief exponents and their ideas are given below.

—Margaret Mead, American anthropologist, started it unconsciously by her *Sex and Temperament* (1935) where she showed that masculine and feminine behaviour is conditioned by society, not sex. Among the Tchambuli of New Guinea the traditional male-female roles as known in our patriarchal societies are reversed.

—Simone de Beauvoir, brilliant *savante,* by her scholarly *The Second Sex,* started the rebellion of intellectual females in the nineteen fifties.

—Betty Friedan, founder of NOW (National Organisation of Women) in America, passionately opposed the idea that motherhood and house-keeping were the most rewarding occupations for women in her *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). She declared emphatically that "the only way for a woman, as for a man, to find herself, to know herself as a person, is by creative work of her own." Her NOW got equality legislations passed through the U.S. Congress.

—Kate Millett (*Sexual Politics*), looks forward, like the 19th century male, Engels, to a time when the monogamous family will cease to exist, and the raising of children will be left to trained practitioners.

—Germaine Greer (*The Female Eunuch*) agrees with her.

—Ti-Grace Atkinson agrees with Kate Millett and Germaine Greer in opposing marriage, which she considers "has the same effect the institutions of slavery had."

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



—Shulamith Firestone would go so far as to have babies bred in test-tubes.

—Gloria Steinem popularises feminist ideas in her *Ms* (pronounced *miz*, a new form of appellation for women, applying to both the married as well as the unmarried).

—Elaine Morgan in her *Ascent of Woman* substitutes woman for man in the evolution of humanity from apes—it is not clear how serious she really is.

Not all women are for feminism.

—Madge Dicter, in her *The Liberated Woman*, says that all women are not eager to make their mark in the outside world—they would prefer to stay at home.

—Gloria Levitas, anthropologist, believes that impersonal laws of evolution made men protect their infants, and by association, the mothers as well.

—Eleanor Maccoby, psychologist, finds girl-children to have less of independence of mind and ego-strength, necessary for analytical thinking.

Ten specific points arise from these theorisation and ferment—

(i) Equal voting rights; (ii) Equal pay for equal work; (iii) Equal property rights; (iv) Greater career opportunities, ultimately equality with men; (v) No discrimination in promotion prospects; (vi) Equality with men in sexual permissiveness; (vii) Liberal abortion laws; (viii) Experiments with new forms of man-woman association ("marriage") and family living; (ix) "Unisex" in matters of dress, personal decoration, performance of domestic chores, rearing of children; (x) Change in the attitude of men to women so that the ethos is not "men are superior to women", nor even "women are equal to (or superior) to men" but the acceptance of the spirit behind Dr Samuel Johnson's famous question—"which man, which woman"?

E. *Politics, etc.* The Nation-feeling is strong. Yet there is yearning for some sort of world association, of the "Spaceship Earth" concept. There is widespread feeling that some sort of regional associations constitute a step in that direction. And that defence requires supra-national association. Foreign policy, once divided between the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Communist World, the "Western" world, and Nehru's the "Third World" is becoming increasingly less simple with world convergence, leading to bilateral and multipolar policies.

Over all this is the fact of feverish arming with deadly weapons by the super-powers, and intensive secret defence research. The object is a break-through which will enable the discovering society to impose World-Domination. These Conservative goals, usually strongly supported by certain foreign policy, defence and defence production groups of super-powers, are contradictory to the Progressive goals of World Brotherhood and World Peace which other people, in the same societies, hold.

*F. Ideology.* The world seems meaningless. The hold of Christianity, Buddhism, Confusianism has weakened and slid into the sub-conscious. Some are satisfied with this, or with Liberal Humanism, Free-thinking or a Hectic Hedonism. Others, like some "hippies", search for a new Vision of Life, sometimes turning to the "Orient". There are institutions for psychic experience and experimentation, including *yoga, Zen,* and drugtaking. Sartre's existentialists believe in fashioning ethics and morals—continuously changing—as one goes along, as the universe is irrational rather than an organised system. Herbert Marcuse in his complicated books like *Eros and Thanatos* and *One-Dimensional Man* carries on where Freud left off, and says that civilization represses us too much. There is "surplus repression", to which he traces the ills of civilization. He pleads for more voluntary labour, for self-sublimation, for the co-operation principle, apparently for freer sex. He is popular with the philosophically-minded among the younger generation.

G. *Culture.* English is fast becoming the "business language of the world", as brought out by M. Adler in his tabulation of the world's population using this language.[7]

English 50; Chinese 18; French 10; Russian 6; Spanish 5; German 5; Arabic 3; Portuguese 2; Italian 1.

From commerce to culture is but one step, and one can expect (and hope) that English will become the World Language in the 21st century.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



There is a yearning for new forms of education, not only through audio-visual channels, like the T.V., but in the university itself, with greater student participation in university management.

There is a desire for world cultural understanding, even of integration, on the part of some. Among intellectuals such essentially civilizationological yearnings have led to the foundation of journals like *History Today* (London), *History and Theory* (Connecticut), *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (from the University of Michigan, edited by Sylvia Thrupp and Eric R. Wolf), the Russian *Voprosi Istorii* ("Questions of History") etc. Such yearnings led to the foundation of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilization (ISCSC) by Othmar Andele at Salzburg. The headquarters has shifted to the United States since 1971. It is beginning to be realised that without Civilizationology there can be no Consciousness of World Brotherhood, and without such a Consciousness the world is doomed to devastating wars of ever increasing hideousness.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 36

# SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION : THE NEHRU-MAHALANOBIS MODEL

## A. Science and Technology

In science and technology, as is clear from Chapter 35, we have to—

1. Do grass roots work, to begin with, down to the *taluka* level. The State should increase (indeed, mostly generate) Science-Consciousnss.

2. To think, plan and execute Big, with international collaboration.

Science-Consciousness is almost absent in India. There are few popular science or mechanics journals, in Indian languages, or in English, and their sales are poor. What is taught as science in schools, often without experiments or laboratory demonstrations, is not science but learning by rote. "Science" is thus taught, without its basic ingredient, the scientific method. As we have seen in Chapter 15, in Theocracies and Theo-Aristocracies, knowledge and understanding are held to be gifts of the deities ("intuition"). Following this concept the *pujari* ("one who leads in offerings"), or the professor or director of the institution knows all, is arrogant. Ideas and free thought are suppressed. The true "scientist" however, is humble. He assumes that he knows nothing. Therefore, truth is vouchsafed to him.

The State should have lectures, popular talks, demonstrations etc., through autonomous bodies, in Parks of Culture and Rest, publish subsidised journals, and generate and increase interest in gadgetry and scientific method.

The State should think Big—of solar energy, for instance. And of vast water control projects like Dinshaw Dastur's Himalayan Catchment Canal and the Deccan Garland Canal, blessed by Buckminster Fuller (*This or else.....a Master Plan for India's Survival*). Obviously,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



such projects require international collaboration, and may not, like the railways in the initial stages, yield returns for a generation or two. But such water-control, like the legendary efforts of Jahnu or Bhagirath in North India, would change the face of the country. This is linked with suggestion 11 of the next section, "Economics".

## B. Economics

On the World-Scale the trends are—(i) Thrust towards regionalisation. (ii) Thrust towards internationalisation. (iii) Liberal socialism. (iv) Maximisation of sales, i.e. of public benefit, instead of profits. (v) The participation of the techno-structure in industrial decision making. (vi) New types of towns to fit in with increased industrialisation.

If one had the "Vision of Mirzah" for 2000 A.D., in the manner of Joseph Addison's essay, one would see, among other things—

—Well managed large towns connected to numerous dough-shaped intermediate towns. (This is linked with suggestions 2 and 4 of Chapter 37) ;—Factories dotting the country, using electricity from solar energy ;—No slums, all beggars working in State-run workhouses ;—Peasants in villages linked by asphalt roads. Homes of brick and plaster, roofs of tile or corrugated metal sheets, or flat. The men wearing blue shorts and shirts and South-East Asian type hats during work. Food more varied, including vegetables and fruits from the backyard kitchen-garden. A little meat and fish. Going about mainly in rubber-soled bullock carts. Inter-village travel, and journeys to towns in buses ;—The landless labourers, often over half the village, organised in communes;—Also individual farms of varying sizes ;—Both serviced by Agro-Urban Centres in intermediate towns. The germane suggestions are—

1. Dual Economy : State Capitalism in selected capital and consumer goods.

2. Professionalisation of the public sector, to be run as Departmental Undertakings, with their own special laws and rules, like Ordnance Factories.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



3. Subsidised essential goods and services for the economically weak, to begin with in urban centres, under housewives' committees.

4. Combating Black Money at the roots—no price control where physical control is not possible.

5. Continuous survey of controls—as few of them as possible.

6. Development of intermediate towns, as suggested by Professor Amlan Datta (cf. also suggestions 2 and 4 of Chapter 37).

7. Land reforms by stages—Communes/Changing the Consciousness, Unionisation of Peasants, Pressure from below by democratic processes (linked with suggestions 2, 3 and 4 of Chapter 38).

8. Trade, not aid, as the guiding principle. Bold action-giving up of fads and superstitions, massive beef exports, which may yield up to Rs. 1000 crores in foreign exchange in a few years. As beef is being exported, although on a small scale, no new principle is involved.

9. Central Projects wherever more than one state is involved, i.e. conceived, financed, executed and run by the Centre.

10. Thrust to a Regional South Asian Economy.

11. Pleading for a World Projects Authority.

Some of the above items require commentaries.

*Items* 1, 2, 5 *'Public Sector'*—The Indian private sector, whose members are the descendants of the *vish*, and mainly traders and money-lenders, failed to create an industrial economy, as we have seen in Section K of Chapter 26. The Parsees, with artisan background, did, but their numbers are small. Hence a public sector, specially for the heavy industry, is absolutely essential. The vision was that of Nehru, and the framework, since the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61), of Professor Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, based mainly on the Soviet model.[1] The emphasis was on heavy industries, and the development of the "investment goods industries."[2] The Mahalanobis model was endorsed for the abortive 1974-79 plan too by the econometrician planner of the Planning Commission, Sukho-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



moy Chakravarti. The Mahalanobis model, like the First Five Year Plan (1951-56) of the Harrod-Domar type, laid emphasis on savings, the capital-output ratio, and investment factors. That is to say, heavily on monetary factors.[3] It also emphasised heavy industry at the cost of agriculture, and did not recognise the need for agricultural surpluses.[4]

Four factors are involved in planning—

State of technology ; Economic organisation ; Labour force (qualitative and quantitative) ; Capital.

The Indian planners laid overwhelming stress on 'capital', i.e. the monetary factor when the others are equally, if not more important.

—State of technology means increasing Science-Consciousness and gadgetry throughout the country. It also means transforming Nature (i.e. spreading water availability etc.) through Thinking and Acting Big, with international collaboration, where necessary.

—Economic organisation includes dotting the country with centres of industry and modernisation ("intermediate towns" of Amlan Datta) and organisation of agriculture (through communes) to create an agricultural surplus.

—Labour force ; change here includes the induction of the Work Ethic, through a Change of Consciousness, from Pauranic Hindu to Scientific-Vedantic (*Vaigyanik—Vedantic*)

—Capital ; this needs no commentary.

The Nehru-Mahalanobis model has served the country well, as the trials of 1965 and 1971 (the Pakistan Wars) proved.

The public sector should be run, however, as Departmental Undertakings, like the Ordnance Factories, instead of as private companies under the Company Law. The parameters of the private and public sectors are different, and the same considerations cannot apply. The State is intimately concerned with public sector policy, and autonomy in policy for the public sector, therefore, implies a misunderstanding of the whole situation. In execution, however, there should be complete autonomy. It should have its own rules and procedures, independent of the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



general Government system and it should be ensured that infructuous work relating to shifting Government resources from one pocket to another, including taxes, are eliminated. Public participation, where necessary, can be provided for through advisory bodies. Not the rate of return but achievement of production targets and sales maximisation would be the criteria of success. How much the undertaking contributes to public coffers, what the ratio of this is to capital employed against norms, factors like these should be used to induce competitiveness. Needless to say the public sector should be managed by professionals, including people at the very top. This is the lesson of civilizationology and if India departs from this salutary principle in practice, if not in theory, she will endanger fast economic development.

*Survey of Controls*—Only what can be achieved organisationally, can be implemented, should be taken in hand. Therefore, a continuous survey of controls, of the regulatory mechanism, is essential. The emphasis should be on liberal socialism, not totalitarian socialism. Looking back in our history, it is true that certain fundamental investments were made under the Maurya Police Regime (clearing of forests, forcible conversion of Adivasis to Peasants etc.), but prosperity came under the free Gupta Rule.

*Black Money*—If there is prohibition or a price control, which cannot be administered, goods in demand are made and sold illegally; or sold at higher prices than controlled prices. Hence money-income is generated which evades taxes, and this is known as 'black money'. A rich class of black-marketeers grow up and they spend much of their black money in bribing politicians and bureaucrats and those with authority and influence. If the election laws postulate meagre sums vis-a-vis what the situation demands, they provide the sinews on the sly. The necessity for not having controls "where an efficient system of distribution cannot be devised" and for "a more realistic pricing policy for public sector enterprises", to strike at black money at the roots is beginning to be realised. (Quotations from the *Government of India Economic Survey*, 1974-75, paras 4.37 and 8.6).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Land Reforms*—This has been preached for over twenty five years, but Going by the Book (of foreign experience) has not yielded much fruit. In Europe the process of Changing the Consciousness was going on for nearly two hundred years in many places, a hundred in some, making the abolition of serfdom almost automatic. In India that work in the villages has still to be done, and it is more difficult, as *Karma* and the apathy which it breeds will have to be fought. Class forces in the villages, those of rich landlords and money-lenders, will prevent land reforms, as they have done, much through *benami* (false-name) transactions. As the private sector has been and is being dwarfed by the public sector, so should rich landlords and money-lenders be in the villages. The State, governed by Progressives, should organise landless labourers in communes, educate them, change their Consciousness, and unionise them. Only by pressure from them can land reforms come. For this purpose democratic and progressive forces will have to go to the villages and unionise them so that they begin to control the State Governments in most of the elections through the Progressive-Conservative Syndrome. It is necessary that the States should be of optimum size, where such grass-roots work is possible. (Suggestion 2 under 'Politics' in Chapter 37).

*Thrust to a South Asian Economic Community (SAEC)*—This can come only through skill, patience and a series of bilateral pacts with neighbours—Pakistan, Nepal, Ceylon, Afghanistan, and possibly Burma.

*World Projects Authority (WPA)*—Big projects like the possible Himalayan Catchment Canal and the Deccan Garland can be executed only with international assistance. Opinion will have to be created in international forums for such a WPA. The WPA, financed by a sort of world national income tax based on national wealth, will finance, execute and run big and international projects, of course with the agreement and cooperation of the nations involved. This is an extension of the WHO, FAO etc. principle and this sort of transfer of wealth would be of benefit to both the rich as well as the poor nations.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 37

# POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, DEFENCE AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

## A. Political, Administrative and Defence Transformation

*Configurational Dynamics :*

(i) External relations—In the World-Arena India is like a Babe in the Woods, armed with a catapult, with ferocious Super-Powers prowling all round. The various possibilities of the future have been postulated in Section U of Chapter 26 as follows—

I. All the component parts of South Asia, particularly, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh come to a settlement specially in the political, economic, external affairs and defence fields.

II. Hegemony of one of the South Asian powers over the others.

III. India becomes a Vietnam, and ultimately the client state of a Super-Power.

IV. Same as III, but direct control by a Super-Power.

V. Variant of III, several client states of various super-powers.

VI. The present uneasy conditions continue as a Fact of Life.

VII. The whole sub-continent break down to bits.

The analysis showed that only two alternatives are really possible, I or III. That is to say, mutual agreement to establish a South Asian Region ; and functioning as the client state of a super-power. Can there be any doubt which alternative is preferable ?

(ii) Internal Forces—Two important questions arise here—"Western" type political development or "East European" type ? ; Peaceful or violent transformation ?

It is not necessary to have Westminster type elections for transition to the Scientific-Democratic Stage. Russia and East Europe have done so without them and China is doing so now. But it is not possible to do without the Progressive-Conservative Syndrome, of the type mentioned

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



in Chapter 30. If this does not take place openly, with a free press, and parties fighting openly, as in West-Europe, the United States etc., it has to in closed chambers, as in Russia, China and East European countries. Here there is Party Dictatorship and the Right-Left Syndrome is within the Party. In India, although there have been free discussions, the real Right-Left Syndrome is working out within the Congress Party, which has ruled India at the Centre, and overwhelmingly at the States, since Independence.

In the Values-and-Institutions package free elections and a free press presuppose near-literacy, a high degree of political maturity and obedience to certain unwritten rules of the game. Where these factors are absent or are not strong, real political democracy, under the theory of Values-and-Institutions as a package, separate for each Stage of Civilization, is not possible.

Military rule in India at a future date, independent of a civilian party support, cannot be visualised as stable. The Indian Army is largely composed of Punjabi-Jat and Maratha groups. A military dictatorship would break up into rule of India by these two linguistic groups, and the Pakistan-Bangladesh syndrome would appear, if the Super-Powers do not step in, converting India into a Vietnam. Those who speak of military dictatorship, therefore, do not know what they are saying.

The question arises, should India develop peacefully or by revolution? Because of the weakness of Stage II (Advanced Hunters) and the concentration of Stage V (Warrior Nomads) largely in the North West (Chapters 6, 9, 12, 27, 28), and the Drona-Ekalavya syndrome of virtual disarmament of Indians by their Aryan rulers, which continued (Chapter 28), revolution with army support would mean, basically, Punjabi-Jat/Maratha rule over a split country. A Pakistani-Bangladesh type of syndrome would emerge, intervention of super-powers, conversion of India into a Vietnam, and ultimately a client state position. Hence it is not possible to visualise a stable Marxist armed revolution in India, unless the consequential Punjabi/Maratha rule is buttressed by foreign bayonets.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



It is too late in the day to hope for slow evolution by the Liberal-Humanism, Automatic-Progress route taken by West Europe, which was spread over 400 years. The quick, Pan-functional Induced Progress of Realo-Idealist Humanism (Chapter 33) is the only way out for India if she is not to become a client state.

(iii) Pull of the Past—It has been seen in Chapters 25 (Section Q) and 26 (Section T) that the Quasi-Bourgeois and the Quasi-Modern have been weak in India. Politically, up to 1947, India was essentially ruled by a Viceregal Dictatorship, although the control of the Press was mild, mostly non-existent. This dictatorship was Constitutionally provided for in the Government of India Act of 1935, and India can, even under our present Constitution, be quickly converted into a dictatorship. This is because the 1950 Constitution is more or less a copy of the 1935 Act, the essentially new features being the portions on "Fundamental Rights" (Part III) and "Directive Principles of State Policy" (Part IV) added by jurists like Bhimji Rao Ambedkar, Sir Benegal Narsingh Rau, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Sir Nivarty Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

Mahatma Gandhi had an immense political hold on India, basically because of his appeal as a Mahatma, and so a God-Man. In the early stages of his Indian career he was also significantly known as 'Gandhi Maharaj' or 'Gandhi the Great King'.

Nehru derived his authority from three sources,—the *Guru-Sishya parampara* (Teacher—pupil succession) of Mahatma Gandhi—his own charisma as a Rich-and-Handsome Prince turned a Servant-of-the-People (a modernised version of the Siddhartha-Buddha complex) ;—popular vote.

Mrs Indira Gandhi has two sources of power—dynastic ; there was a period of doubt as to how strong a female ruler could be ; she delighted Theo-Aristocratic India by her defeat of the Rightist Syndicate Group of the Congress Party, and as a Strong Woman became a Queen in her own right ;—popular vote.

Lal Bahadur Shastri, in between (1964-66), could also have become a Semi-Monarch like Nehru, Mrs Gandhi and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the British Viceroys. He was, essentially, a Nehru Household Retainer, and although a Kayastha, the use of his title (justifiably) as "Shastri" (a man of learning of Kashi —Benares—Vidyapeeth) gave the impression that he was a Brahman, which must have earned him millions of votes of peasants, holding Brahmans in superstitious and reverential awe.

In a country basically Theo-Aristocratic, the outward forms of Scientific-Democratic rulership are not important. A Quasi-Modern country is ruled essentially by a Semi-Monarch, whether he or she is recognised or not as such, showing that there is no getting round the Theorem of separate Values-and-Institutions package, integral for each Stage of Civilization. In Russia and East Europe, as well as in China, jumping from Theo-Aristocracies or Near Theo-Aristocracies to the Scientific-Democratic Stage, there have been the rule, of what may be called, in varying degrees, Quasi-Monarchs.

*Vision of Mirzah*—Optimum size States, about 60 in number, working under Central supervision; Optimum size districts, or prefectures, about 550-600 in number, under the control of prefects; Conscription for defence, for both men and women; Popularisation of defence studies.

*World-Scale trends*

The nation-idea is very strong; But there is yearning for some sort of ultimate World Association; More immediately, for Regional Association; Feverish arming, specially by Super-Powers, and defence research on gigantic scales, ostensibly for defence, but really for a technological break-through, and imposition of World Dominion or Suzerainty in some form; Progressive groups for World Brotherhood and World Peace.

*Suggestions*

1. Election-spending only by Governments.
2. Optimum size States—*janapadas*—of about 50 or 60 in number—abolition of governors.
3. Major port areas to be Centrally administered, as well as strategic defence areas inland.
4. Optimum size districts or prefectures, under pre-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



fects, enabling grass roots work to be done. Development of intermediate towns.

5. Stronger Centre—Centre should be able to give directions to States even under normal circumstances, as a matter of course—district boards to be converted to bodies advising the prefects—states should finance their own projects without Central assistance—new sources of State funds from Communes and taxing the rich farmers—Central economic help in the form of Central projects (suggestion 9 under 'B. Economics' of Chapter 36).

6. Provision for Associate States in the Constitution—Thrust to a South Asian Confederation.

7. Ministerial Policy-planning, inspection and control and Bureaucratic Implementation. Modernisation of financial control.

8. Free and Quick Justice for all-Nationalisation of the legal profession, increase in numbers of courts and lawyers, penalties for unnecessary litigiousness.

9. Scouts, Volunteers, Home Guards. Reversing the *Drona-Ekalavya Syndrome*. State quotas for Defence Forces. Conscription.

10. Subsidisation of defence studies, popularisation of discussions on defence through the mass media.

*Annotation*—Some of the suggestions require annotation. *Election spending only by governments*—This is the suggestion of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Amendments to Election Law, 1972—that election expenses are a legitimate charge on the public funds. Because of the Theo-Aristocratic, Near-Theocratic Consciousness of the mass of India's village electors they have to be cajoled, bribed and transported to the polling booth—entailing huge expenditure which only black money can provide—another example of the theorem that all Values-and-Institutions are integral to each Stage of Civilization and constitute a package—one cannot have bits chosen from here and there. If the State finances elections it cannot obviously spend as much as at present. This will necessitate between-election cultivation of constituencies by parties, which is lacking today, so as to ensure that they turn up at the polling booths during election time.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Optimum-size States and districts*—In India the 'States' are huge from the population point of view, the sizes ranging from 10 million for Haryana to 88 million for Uttar Pradesh (leaving out the few small states, Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh). By contrast, American States generally do not exceed 5 million, except California (20), Florida (6.8), Illinois (11), Massachusetts (5.7), Michigan (8.9), New Jersey (7), New York (18), Ohio (11), Pennsylvania (12), Texas (11)—10 out of 52 (figures for 1970—*Information Please Almanac* 1973—New York—pp. 621-42).

In the U.S.S.R., for 1970, only the Russian S.F.S.R. (130), Ukraine (47), Kazakstan (12.8), Byelorussia (9) and Uzbekistan (12) have a population over 5 million, while Azerbaijan is on the border-line (5.1). But it is really the next level of hierarchy, the *oblasts* and the *krais*, which are comparable to the American States, and these number 120.[6]

The issue was debated in the April 1973 issue of Romesh Thapar's *Seminar* (No. 164—Federal Reorganisation). Professor M. N. Srinivas, the sociologist, recommended smaller states, as then—the Ministers would be more in touch with the people and would be able to do grass-roots work; there would be development of backward areas; there would be regional loyalty, but not linguistic chauvinism.

Rasheed-ud-din Khan has, in the issue of *Seminar* in question, produced a scheme with 59 states. It has been stated by opponents that such a scheme—which should be worked out by a Second States Reorganisation Commission—would lead to much infructuous expenditure on governors, legislatures etc.; would encourage "fissiparous tendencies"; would divert attention from more urgent, economic matters.

Small states would undoubtedly mean more expenditure, on legislatures etc. Governors, however, can be abolished, and district boards converted to advisory bodies, to help the Prefects. But, instead of abetting "fissiparous tendencies" they would counter them, reduce linguistic chauvinism, and so make the Centre stronger. And only

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



such small states would make grass-roots work, like communes, intermediate towns and growth-centres feasible. Without them our radical plans will largely remain paper plans, as they have so far. Thus, the initial extra expenditure would be repaid manifold.

K. K. Dass, the distinguished administrator, holds that the optimum population of a district at the present moment should be about 1 million. Thus, as against the present 350 districts or so we will have about 550. (*Seminar*, April 1973, p. 22). This, along with about 60 State capitals, would give over 600 Intermediate Town-cum-Growth centres.

*More Centrally administered Areas*—Ports like Calcutta, Bombay, Kandla, Cochin, Mangalore, Madras, Goa etc. are areas of strategic importance, and also cosmopolitan. They should, therefore, be Centrally administered areas, along with certain internal areas like Bangalore, Hyderabad, Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Kanpur etc.

*Administrative Reorganisation*—The Secretariat Departments, under the Minister, should have, broadly, three wings—

Policy Planning; House keeping (Budget, Administration etc.); Inspection and Monitoring (on suitable MIS or Management Information Service).

Implementation should be left to Bureaus staffed by professionals, who should not be moved from Bureau to Bureau. Their financial prospects should be taken care of by a flexible emoluments policy. The British-type day-to-day expenditure control of the Finance Ministry should be replaced by American-type budgetary control. Day-to-day audit should be under internal control, external audit monitoring only systems, achievements against targets and major irregularities. Such changes would place the task of implementation squarely on professional bureaucrats and technicians, the Secretariat concentrating on policy issues and control, instead of day-to-day interference in implementation.

*Intermediate towns, Growth Centres, Communes*—The 600 odd state capitals and district towns, along with the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



communes, will be the new growth centres. The communes will be centres of modernization, Civilizationology, and a New Consciousness, where India's poor will become human beings. The workers for new urban centres will be provided mainly by these communes, which will belong to the States. The communes, through hard work, to which the members will be used, would provide, among other things, the surplus to feed the urban centres. This evenly spread-out urbanisation will counteract the growth of giant towns, so killing to humanity. Land for the communes will have to be obtained at just prices, which may be well below market rates. The problem is basically political, and is hence included in this section, and the effect of the solution proposed would be as fundamental as the Mauryan Virgin Lands Scheme, Gupta decentralisation, Turko-Mughal land revenue arrangements and district management and British commercialization of land relations.

## B. Social Transformation

*Configurational Dynamics and General Analysis*—The ferment of Women's Liberation Movement abroad influences, naturally, only the educated classes, some of the rich and the middle sections of the population. But as there is a lot of submerged Matrifocal Agricultural (Stage III) ideas (Chapter 7), improvement of the feminine condition may not, with increasing education, prove so very difficult. Specially since Manu, the arch-priest of Hindu Theo-Aristocratic Conservatism, is somewhat ambivalent in the matter. The present-day yearning of Indian womanhood is clearly expressed by Tagore's *Chitra,* who does not want to be either a goddess on a pedestal, nor a plaything, a creature of man's whims, but an equal companion, in work and play.

Thus, a change in attitude, which determines other changes, is most desired. And the field in which this is most important is marriage. Theo-Aristocratic marriages, "arranged marriages", are social and not at all marriages in the "modern" sense, as Professor Nissim Ezekiel has brought out very well in an essay.[7]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



There are five broad ingredients in marriage—

Attraction of temperaments; Romance; Sex; Family; Common Interests.

In "joint families", and "arranged marriages", characteristic of Theocratic and Theo-Aristocratic societies, sex and family were the main bonds. Others could or could not be there, depending on circumstances. If a man was particularly romantic or lusty, and was not satisfied with his wife, he could have "love" outside his marriage. The poor wife was denied such permissiveness, as double standards applied, operating against women, a vestige of the ruling Warrior Nomad Patriarchal tradition (Stage 5). In "modern" marriages, where the husband and wife are much more thrown on each other, all the five ingredients are important. Hence it is essential that couples come to know each other well before marriage.

Although the ten points mentioned in the World-Scale picture (Chapter 35) apply to India also, there are special points here—like the dowry system, the plight of widows, and the fecklessness which leads to very large families, specially among those who can least afford it. *Karma,* a leaving of everything to chance, buttresses this irresponsibility. It is only the educated women who can create the proper climate of opinion by means of which women's disabilities are removed and a proper Consciousness for family planning is created.

It may be more difficult to get the Hindu Indian out of his caste feelings, bolstered up by a belief in *Karma,* that each man's station in this life is the outcome of his actions in past lives. Therefore, if he is suffering he is doing so for past sins. A change of Consciousness is the only way out, which can be hastened by certain symbolical measures of a psychological nature:

*Suggestions*

1. Special Department for Women's Affairs in each State and Prefecture, under feminine control, looking after marriage affairs, family planning etc. apart from social welfare work. Indoctrination in the Parks of Culture and Rest and elsewhere. Institutional arrangements for meet-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



ings between boys and girls, as possible prelude to marriage, in such Parks.

2. Thrust towards a preponderance of women as teachers in all schools, primary, secondary and high, as in the United States and Soviet Russia. Nothing will change the climate of opinion in favour of women as this innovation.

3. President/Vice-President by rotation among Women/Minorities/Scheduled Caste and Tribes/General. One in four vacancies to be reserved for women. The others could be women or men. A Scheduled Caste or Schedule Tribe man or woman as the President/Vice-President of India in every fourth vacancy will have a great psychological effect, as it will also for women and the minorities.

4. Thrust to such an improvement in the condition of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, that this category of humiliation can be abolished by 2000 A.D.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 38

# CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

To COME TO the Scientific-Democratic Stage West Europe had to pass through Six Cultural Revolutions, as follows—

*Theo-Mercantile:* 1. Renaissance; 2. Reformation;

*Rational Mercantile:* 3. Scientific Revolution; 4. Humanism; 5. Enlightenment.

*Scientific-Democratic:* 6. Industrial Revolution.

(Chapters 23, 25, 26).

Due to interaction with West Europe these revolutions were reflected in India, although in a pale and weakened form—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Renaissance | —"Bengal Renaissance". Derozeans and Quasi-Derozeans. Maharashtra Renaissance (Chapters 25/26). |
| 2. | Reformation | —Ram Mohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj<br>—Ramakrishna-Vivekananda<br>—Saiyid Ahmad Khan<br>—Dayanand<br>—M. G. Ranade<br>—Ghulam Ahmad Khan of Qadian.<br>Chapters 25/26). |
| 3. | Scientific Revolution | —Derozeans and Quasi-Derozeans<br>—Akshay Kumar Datta<br>—Swarna Kumari Devi<br>—Ramendra Sundar Trivedi<br>—Jagadananda Roy<br>Chapters 25/26). |
| 4. | Humanism | —Tagore<br>—Gandhi<br>—Aurobindo<br>—Muhammad Iqbal<br>(Chapter 26). |
| 5. | Enlightenment | —Nehru<br>—M. N. Roy<br>(Chapter 26). |
| 6. | Industrial Revolution | —J. N. Tata<br>—Homi Bhabha<br>(Chapter 26). |

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



All these six revolutions, which took 400-500 years in Europe, have to be telescoped into a relatively short Time-frame in India if we are to survive as a people. In East Europe/Russia and China there has been a *seventh revolution*—Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

It has been analysed in Chapter 38, read with Chapter 33, why a Pan-functional Induced Progress on the philosophy of Realo-Idealist Humanism is the *only one* suitable for India if she is to develop on her own, and not as a client state. In this chapter we are concerned only with the best methods of communication in bringing about the revolutions in question. The suggestions below relate to this central problem—

1. Parks of Culture and Rest to promote, *inter alia*, a Change in Consciousness in all the functions—Science and Technology, Economics, Politics, Defence, Social Affairs, Religion, Everyday Living.

2. Roman-Hindustani as an Associate National Language.

3. Widespread use of the T.V., Micro-Media, films as fast Change-Agents.

4. Strengthening English. It will be beneficial to have all post-graduate teaching, and teachng in law, medicine, engineering and technical subjects in English.

5. Translations from English to the Regional Languages.

6. Chairs and Institutes of Civilizationology. Civilizationology as a compulsory study in some form or other.

Some of these suggestions require annotation.

It will be useful to have Roman-Hindustani as an Associate National Language. This will have to be considered with the proposal to strengthen English. English is the international language *par excellence*, as we have seen in Chapter 35. India's position today, lowly as it may be, is largely due to the mastery of knowledge, and indoctrination with ideas, through English. The Roman alphabet is used for English. Hindustani is a living language popular with Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus. Therefore, Roman-Hindustani, used by the old British Indian Army, and so already tried out, would be an excellent media for

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



the radio, the film, and the T.V. The common script between English and Roman Hindustani, and the usefulness of the latter in day-to-day work, will be helpful in the quick and large-scale use of the radio, the T.V., and the film as communication media as this (the common script) will render easy the deployment of personnel trained in both English and Roman Hindustani in the best way possible.

Because English is already the most important international language, with all important ideas and techniques being expressed in it, widespread translations from English to our Regional Languages will enrichen and strengthen knowledge and understanding, specially at the popular level, and in universities below the post-graduate stage.

India is a microcosm of the world. People of various skin colours, physiognomy, stages of civilization live here cheek by jowl. No society is so well posited to comprehend the adage—*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*—the whole world is kin. Many of our thought-leaders, Ram Mohan Roy, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru, Aurobindo, M. N. Roy etc. have been, in effect, Civilizationologists, although, they did not use this term. It is meet, therefore, that India becomes the foremost country to develop the discipline of Civilizationology and thereby to lead the world along the path of Creative Altruism (*Lokahita/Sarvodaya*) and World Brotherhood.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 39

# RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION

## General Analysis

We have seen, in the preceding Chapters, tnat different Stages of Civilization have different religions. The general characteristics of the religions of various stages are summarised below—

I. *Food Gatherers*—Moral and just Supreme Being. Universe full of spirits or daimons, good and bad, in stones, trees, plants, rivers etc. Psychic Energy, or Spiritual Substance, pervades the entire Universe, each object having a differing spiritual voltage. Corresponding with this is the idea of spiritual pollution. Shamanism and totemism Priestesses as well as priests. The deity has no image.

II. *Advanced Hunters*—Belief in animal magic. *Participation mystique* with the animal hunted. Spiritual Energy pervading the Universe. Deity is otiose. Deity is appeased by sacrifice of animals with propitiatory rites and dances.

III. *Matrifocal Agriculturists*—Earth fertile, yielding crops/women fertile, yielding children/women's periods/moon's periods—so all interconnected. Cult of the Mother Goddess and of village goddesses. Fertility rites with bloody sacrifices to simulate menstrual blood. Ideas of Birth, Death and Resurrection, as of Corn and its Seed. Megaliths and Sacrificial Pillars as Phalli impregnating Mother Earth. Tree of Heaven as a goddess. Moon Cults. As the horns of a cow are like the crescent moon, cow cults.

IV. *Early Technologists*—Probably an intellectual type deity, male or female—Tvashtr, Brahma, Saraswati, Athene, Minerva—thinkers, intellectuals, technicians, masters or mistresses of the arts and crafts.

V. *Warrior Nomads*—Nature deities—fire, wind, sun etc. Hero cults. Heads of family as priests. Open air altars. No idols. Mysticism developed in the wide spaces. Patriarchal, and hence hatred of fertility and phallic cults.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



VI. *Theo-Technocrats*—Sophistication of matrifocal ideas. Belief in Psychic Energy being increased by penances, which help bringing down Spiritual Energy from above, by charms, incantations etc. Water cults. Priestly esotericism.

VII. *Theo-Aristocrats*—A mix of Stage V & VI. Syncretistic faiths.

VIII. *Theo-Mercantilists*—The 'theo' element modified by simpler faiths, more rational, humane, all-embracing.

IX. *Rational-Mercantile* — Rationalism, Humanism. Secular thinking, i.e. not believing in religion at all. Liberal Humanism. Free-thinking.

X. *Scientific-Democratic*—More or less the same as Stage IX. Attempts to understand the universe with a mix of science and intuition e.g. Bertrand Russell, Teilhard de Chardin etc. The thrust of the above treatment is—there is no fixed, permanent religion; man really does not know anything about Ultimates; that religious belief is a part of the total Values-and-Institutions Package, separate for each Stage of Civilization.

Of the widespread religions of the world the Stage Affiliations are as follows—

*Christianity*—Out of Stage VII, Theo-Aristocratic. But as it was the religion of the poorer classes of Jews, it is Democratic.

*Islam*—Out of Theo-Mercantile Arabia. Hence, democratic. (Chapter 17).

*Buddhism*—Out of Theo-Mercantile India. Hence, democratic. (Chapter 22).

*Pauranic Hinduism*—A syncretism of the faiths of peoples of Stages 1 (Food Gatherers) 2 (Advanced Hunters), 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists), 4 (Early Technologists), 5 (Warrior Nomads), 6 (River-Valley Priest Engineers) and 8 (Buddhist Theo-Mercantilists). (Chapter 15).

Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, because of their Democratic side, fit in with at least half of the Scientific-Democratic stage. Pauranic Hinduism, an amalgam of the faiths of various stages, does not. It is, indeed, inimical to the Scientific-Democratic Stage, as brought out in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Chapter 26 (Section T). The relevant functional analysis is recapitulated below—

—Science and technology—belief in the *guru* and in faith and intuition, not in reason, inhibits rapid and spectacular scientific development. Science and technology are, like priestly knowledge, matters of rote learning and Going by the Book.

—Economics—Caste, divinely allocated, inhibits mobility and puts a premium on routine and tradition. The caste nature of Pauranic Hinduism contradicts *sarvodaya* or "welfare for all", which Mahatma Gandhi learnt from John Ruskin. (Chapter 26, Section M).

—Politics—Pauranic Hinduism is for inequality, for the *homo hierarchicus,* and against democracy. Hence, Radical rhetoric, and action, based on Pauranic Hinduism, are at variance.

—Administration—Due to caste ideas and practices civil administration is still largely a preserve, at the top levels, of Niyogi-type Brahmans, Kayasthas, Khatris etc. According to Pauranic Hinduism the boss is demi-god. This feeling, among subordinates and the boss, is not conducive to a modern type of efficiency.

And the defence of India is largely restricted to certain territorial, caste and "ethnic" groups. All this is absolutely against Scientific-Democratic concepts and practices.

—Social Affairs—Caste, subjugation of women, untouchability etc. are integral parts of Pauranic Hinduism. Hence, as in the case of politics, rhetoric and practices are at variance.

—Culture—While "modern" themes beguile the leisure moments of the educated elite, the heart still lives with *Ram-Leela, Durga Puja,* various temple festivals etc. The "modernism" is only skin-deep.

—Ideology—*Karma,* held in the sub-conscious, if not in the Conscious, inhibits activity, encourages callousness and indifference to truth and justice. So does the *Maya* concept, also largely held sub-consciously. Many members of the Indian elite are more consciously possessed with the belief that faith, not reason, is the key to human suc-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



cess, prosperity and happiness, that miracles, therefore, take place; and that *godmen* and *gurus* are, therefore, the people to turn to.

So, unless Pauranic Hinduism is banished from our Consciousness we will not become a Scientific-Democratic people.

Several attempts have been made to so banish Pauranic Hnduism, indeed, from Indo-Islamic times, thus—

*Bhakti* religions; Sikhism; Brahmoism; Ramkrishna-Vivekanda Vedantism; Arya Samajism.

An earlier faith, pre-dating Syncretic Hinduism, which was Rational, Simple and Humane, was Buddhism.

Why have the recent efforts to replace Pauranic Hinduism failed? Essentially because they had no state support. Christianity began to spread after Constantine the Great made it the official religion (4th century A.D.); Buddhism had the support of Ashoka, Harsha etc.; Islam had state support right from the beginning, as Muhammad was a Religious-Secular Ruler; Syncretic Hinduism was supported by all rulers from Gupta times onwards. Non-theistic faiths like Marxism-Leninism, Maoism also have prospered because of State support.

After the 1857 political-military revolts the British took the line of non-interference in religious affairs. This practice continues after Independence under the name 'secularism', which in India denotes tolerance of all faiths rather than what it actually means—indifference to all of them. But such non-interference or indifference really means support of the *status quo*, i.e. of Pauranic Hinduism and hence, postponement of immediate entry to the Scientific-Democratic Stage, continuing backwardness, hence possible military defeats, and imposition of modernism under external auspices, as a client state. Therefore, although Religious Transformation will stir up a hornet's nest, all efforts will have to be made to substitute Pauranic Hinduism by another native faith. The extant ones are—

Buddhism; Sikhism; Brahmoism; Ramakrishna Missionism. (Vedantists).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



The *Bhakti* Religion preached by M. G. Ranade does not really exist as a separate faith. The Arya Samajis, who believe in the Vedas as the source of all knowledge, are not, therefore, Scientific. They are also exclusive. Hence, not Democratic.

The State should, therefore, support all the four faiths mentiond above. Of these it is doubtful if Buddhism can be revived anymore in India. It is like an old love, a thing of the Past. Sikhism, a virile faith, has restricted itself to the North West, largely as an ethnic one. Still, it might expand. Brahmoism is too deeply imbued in the public image with refined, sophisticated, nose-in-the-air Bengalis of generally the affluent class. Ramakrishna Missionism is the nearest to Hinduism in its Ramakrishna nuance, and almost purely Vedantist in its Vivekanda one. It has no metaphysics, as Vivekananda did not believe in Shankara's *Maya* doctrine. Vedantism means belief in the Psychic Energy Pool (Teilhard de Chardin's Noosphere) rather than in a Transcendental Deity. In its first phase it was represented by Upanishadic Pantheism ; in its second by monistic and other forms of Vedanta ("End of the Vedas", i.e. Ultimate Knowledge), of Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhava etc. ; in its third phase, now on, we have new formulations—like Brahmoism, Ramakrishna Missionism etc. Nehru was a believer in Vedanta as well as Science, like Vivekananda. This Vedantism is quite different from Hinduism, does not believe in idol worship, *Karma, Maya,* caste, godmen, *gurus* etc. It can, therefore, become a growing, developing faith of India, indeed, a *Vaigyanik Vedantism.* This presupposes that a faith is required. Most human beings do require the solace of a faith, of metaphysics, and of some rituals. Professor Ninian Smart, in his *The Religious Experience of Mankind* (London, Fontana Library edition, 1970 pp. 672-678), has high hopes of Vedantism developing and emerging as a World Religion to meet such needs.

In accordance with Time-worn Indian tradition all faiths in India will, without any doubt, continue to be tolerated and respected. But as extra-Indian faiths of provenances which are wealthier, State support can be

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



rendered to them only if asked for. But the transformation of Pauranic Hinduism into Vaigyanik Vedantism is an absolute necessity and a State duty.

*Suggestions*

1. Support of Vedantic Religions (Ramakrishna Missionism, Brahmoism), Buddhism and Sikhism as substitutes for Pauranic Hinduism. And of Christianity, Islam, Bahaism if so required. Encouragement of Vaigyanik Vedantist philosophies.

2. Thrust to the acquisition of temples and their conversion to museums.

3. Pan-Indianisation of names and abolition of caste surnames.

Suggestion Number 3 requires some elaboration. Muslim names are now wholly Arabic. In Indonesia it is a mixture, like Muhammad Sukarno or Satyavati Suleiman. Why should Muslim-Indians also not take pride in Indian names. If Mahajabeen can become Meena Kumari and Yusuf Khan, Dilip Kumar, in films, why not in ordinary life? This will also help in the vitality of Muslim-Indian connections with other Indians.

Sikhs always have had Indian names. And the very small Christian, Parsee and Jewish communities justifiably desire to preserve their separate identities. Some Christians, however, are adopting Indian names.

Of still greater import is the necessity for the abolition of caste surnames. This will be of great symbolical and psychological importance even if a Pauranic-Hindu does not become an egalitarian Vedantist.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 40

# AWAKENING KUMBHA KARNA—THE SLEEPING GIANT

THE PREVIOUS CHAPTERS have proved, for India as well as the world, that the following theorems hold good—

—that there are Stages of Civilization;—that each Stage has its own Values and Institutions, its own High Civilization in the fields of science and technology, economics, politics, social relations, ideology and culture, the whole complex being determined by the dominant economics, and forming a package;—that these Stages cut across national boundaries, the national flavour being provided by "folk elements";—that Stage and other changes are brought about by the Progressive *v* Conservative syndrome;—that Stage changes can never be partial (for instance, the incompatibility of Pauranic Hinduism with the "Modern", Chapter 26, Section T; the essentially "feudal" nature of present-day Indian politics, Chapter 37, Section A); and that changes can be induced in the desired direction by the operation of Five Key Forces, actual or potential, i.e.—of Configurational Dynamics—geography, natural resources, geopolitics or external forces, internal class forces, the weight of tradition.

The "folk elements" which give the distinctive national or local colouring comprise of:—

"ethnic mix", what people look like; for instance, the broad head of the Gujarati and the Bengali; the stalwart physiognomy of the Jat, etc.;

—language, idiom, proverbs, sayings;

—dress, specially dress-materials, depending on climate and geographic availability; and certain fashions, like the flowing Bengali *dhoti* of the gentry (*bhadralok*), the Maratha ladies tucking their sarees beneath their legs etc.;

—dwelling places, depending on climate and materials available; sloping roofs, in places made of tiles, of the Indian West Coast; also sloping, but of mud-and-thatch

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



in rural Bengal; in both these areas rainful is plentiful; flat roofs in relatively dry North India etc.
—culinary traditions, like Chinese, French and Persian cooking in the international field; use of items locally available, rice and fish in Prachya, wheat and plenty of milk and milk-products in the Punjab etc.;
—some arts and crafts;
—some professions and callings, dependent on geography, e.g. sailors of Chittagong, Orissa and Kerala; Gurkha soldiers etc.;
—folk music and dances, heritage of earlier Stages of Civilization;
—some etiquette and customs (*deshachara*).

With this kind of understanding (it had to take these so many preceding chapters to give body to the theorems of Chapter 1), we can now attempt to answer the questions posed in the 'Scope of the Enquiry' right at the beginning.

They were—Why have we stagnated for centuries while some other nations have forged ahead? Why cannot we modernise ourselves quickly enough? Why is India lagging behind other nations? Why do we not have original thinkers of world stature? Why do we not treat human beings as human beings? Why are we not scientific enough, not efficient enough, not democratic enough?

Many societies advanced up to the Theo-Mercantile Stage (Stage 8); a few shot ahead to the Rational-Mercantile-Humanist (Stage 9) and Scientific-Democratic-Feminist (Stage 10), because of the cumulative effect of the favourable configurations of the five Key Forces mentioned earlier (Chapters 23, 25, 26, 33). The other questions pertain to the present period and require functional analysis. This has been done in Chapter 26 (Section T), as well as chapters 36 to 39, but is briefly recapitulated below.
—In *Science and Technology* the main drawbacks are—general belief in the Life of Intuition (*bodhi*) than in the Life of Reason (*buddhi*); faith in *guruvada* i.e. taking everything from the teacher's mouth, in Going by the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Book. In institutions the directors, professors etc. behave like *zamindars* and smother initiative and innovation. Thus, our Theo-Aristocratic, Near-Theocratic Consciousness, including Pauranic Hinduism, inhibits the development of science and technology.

—In *Economics* progress is inhibited by belief in caste (i.e. by Pauranic Hinduism) which distorts the mobility of labour and which enjoins physical laziness on many; and in our negligence (partly born out of caste callousness) in organising the rural poor; in Going by the Book in not realising that our public sector is a different sort of animal compared to both Government departments and private sector companies, and so requires a special set of rules of the game.

—In *Politics* Pauranic Hinduism creates complications because of our continued belief in caste and in *Homo hierarchichus*; organisationally the drawback lies in a conservatism which makes us stick to the Giant States and Giant Districts which served British law and order purposes, but which does not serve our present-day development needs. In Defence-Consciousness, caste inhibits a general interest in the matter, so necessary in a democracy; a lack of interest heightened by the continuing Drona-Ekalavya syndrome.

—In *Social Affairs,* caste-sense, born out of Pauranic Hinduism, prevents the real amelioration of the conditions of the weak, including most women; and the consequent lack of the adequate politico-administrative organisation inhibits advance in matters like family planning.

—In *ideology* the overall debilitating effects of Pauranic Hinduism has been dealt with at length, specially in Chapters 26 and 38. The various efforts to substitute some form of Vedantism instead of Pauranic Hinduism have languished for want of adequate State support.

—In *Culture,* the leisured elite classes have borrowed much from other societies through assimiliation and appropriation, but the fruits are still largely confined to the upper strata in larger towns—except for the cinema.

Thus, the basic lacunae have been—

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



—No efforts to Change the Consciousness by substituting Vaigyanik Vedantism for Pauranic Hinduism.
—Sticking to the organisation of the British.

Various suggestions have been made to bring about the desired structural and behavioural changes, in Chapters 36, 37, 38 and 39. They are serially numbered and listed below :—

*I. Science and Technology :*

1. Increasing Science-Consciousness by grass-roots work under State auspices.

2. Thinking, Planning and Executing Big, with international collaboration.

*II. Economics :*

3. Dual Economy : State Capitalism in selected capital and consumer goods.

4. The public sector to run as Departmental Undertakings, as professional bodies, with their own special laws and rules. This will strengthen our Nehru-Mahalanobis Model public sector.

5. Subsidised essential goods and services for the economically weak, to begin with in urban centres, under Housewives' Committees.

6. Combating Black Money at the roots—no price control where physical control is not possible.

7. Continuous survey of controls—as few of them as possible.

8. Development of intermediate towns—about 600 of them.

9. Land Reforms—starting with Communes, run by the State, where the rural poor would be organised. Land acquisition from rich peasants for the purpose at fair, below-market rates. The surplus from the communes would partly feed cities and generate cash.

10. Trade, not aid as the guideline. Bold action—giving up of fads and superstitions, massive beef exports, which may yield up to Rs. 1000 crores in foreign exchange in a few years. As beef is being exported, though on a small scale, no new principle is involved.

11. Central Projects wherever more than one State

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



is involved i.e. conceived, financed, executed and run by the Centre.

12. Thrust to a Regional South Asian Economy.

13. Pleading at the world forum for a World Projects Authority for big and international projects.

*III. Politics/Administration/Defence :*

14. Election-spending only by Governments.

15. Optimum size States, about 50 or 60 in number, abolition of governors.

16. Major port areas to be Centrally administered, as well as strategic defence areas inland.

17. Optimum size districts or prefectures—about 550 or so, each with a population of about 1 million on the average—under prefects, enabling grass roots work to be done. Development of about 600 intermediate towns. District Boards to be converted to advisory bodies.

18. Stronger Centre—Centre to give directions to States even under normal circumstances.

19. Provision for Associate States in the Constitution —Thrust to a South Asian Confederation.

20. Ministerial Policy—planning, inspection and control and Bureaucratic implementation. Financial control on the American rather than British pattern.

21. Free and Quick Justice for all—Nationalisation of the legal profession, increase in numbers of courts and lawyers, penalties for unnecessary litigiousness.

22. Scouts, Volunteers, Home Guards. Reversing the *Drona-Ekalavya* syndrome. State quotas for Defence Forces. Conscription for both men and women.

23. Subsidisation of defence studies, popularisation of discussions on defence through the mass media.

*IV. Social Affairs :*

24. Special Department for Women's Affairs in each State and Prefecture, under feminine control, looking after marriage affairs, family planning etc. apart from social welfare work. Indoctrination in the Parks of Culture and Rest and elsewhere. Institutional arrangements for meetings between boys and girls, as possible prelude to marriage, in such Parks.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



25. Thrust towards a preponderance of women as teachers in all schools, primary, secondary and high, as in the United States and Soviet Russia.

26. President/Vice-President by rotation among Women/Minorities/Scheduled Castes and Tribes /General. One in four vacancies to be reserved, therefore, for women. The others could be women or men.

27. Thrust to such an improvement in the condition of Scheduled Castes and Tribes that this category of humiliation can be abolished by 2000 A.D.

*V. Culture:*

28. Parks of Culture and Rest to promote, *inter alia*, a Change in Consciousness, through popular lectures, in all the functions—Science and Technology, Economics, Politics, Defence, Social Affairs, Religion, Everyday Living.

29. Roman-Hindustani as an Associate National Language.

30. Widespread use of the T. V., Micro-Media, films as fast Change-Agents.

31. Strengthening English. It will be beneficial to have all post-graduate teaching, and teaching in law, medicine, engineering and technical subjects in English.

32. Translations from English to the Regional Languages.

33. Chairs and Institutes of Civilizationology. Civilizationology as a compulsory study in some form or other.

*VI. Religion:*

34. Support of Vedantic Religions (Ramakrishna Missionism, Brahmoism), Buddhism and Sikhism as substitutes for Pauranic Hinduism. And of Christianity, Islam, Bahaism if so required. Encouragement of *Vaigyanik* (Scientific) *Vedantist* philosophies.

35. Thrust to the acquisition of temples and their conversion to museums.

36. Pan-Indianisation of names and abolition of caste surnames.

These changes have to be brought about through peaceful methods. The path of violent revolution is not for us, because of the composition of the Indian Army,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



largely Punjabi/Jat and Maratha. Any military dictatorship, or revolution with the help of the army would ultimately, therefore, turn out to be a division of India between Punjabis and Marathas. If the whole of the subcontinent is caught in turmoil it can be divided into several States—under Pakistanis, Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs, Marathas, possibly Gurkhas-Nepalis, even Nagas in the North East. If a division of this broad nature had taken place after the 1857-59 political-military revolts, India could have developed as several States, and by now a federation may have been formed (Chapter 26, Section F). But the feeling of linguistic nationalism is too strong now, and any of the alternatives visualised would lead to a Pakistan-Bangladesh type of situation of an infinitely worse nature. It will be a Heaven-sent opportunity for the Super-Powers, to fish in such troubled waters and convert the sub-continent into another Vietnam.

Therefore, change should be peaceful, but quick, through Pan-functional, induced methods, with Realo-Idealist Humanism and World-Scale trends giving perspective and the sense of direction (Chapters 33, 34). Politically it means that the path will have to be basically continuously Left-inclined Centrist, although the Left-Right Syndrome will manifest itself.

It is absolutely essential to keep in mind the World-Scale trends as they have vitality and a tremendous, expansive *elan,* like all developing forces. We will not be able to swim against the Progressive World Tides, and it would be criminal, from the point of view of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, to try to do so out of mistaken notions of Romantic Nationalism. (Chapter 26, Section M), And, indeed, even if we tried we will not be able to do so. The World Tides will overwhelm us and External Forces will impose modernisation on India. External forces have in the Past, ushered in or imposed Stages of Civilization in India. (Chapter 30). Thus Stage 1 (Food-Gatherers), Stage 2 (Advanced Hunters), Stage 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists), Stage 4 (Early Technologists), Stage 5 (Warrior Nomads), Stage 7B (Muslim Theo-Aristocratic), Stage 9 (British

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



"Bourgeois') and Stage 10 (British "Modern").

If we are negligent in changing fast into "modernism" or are unable to do so, then the scenario will indeed be very grim. The following alternatives have been visualised (Chapter 26, Section U)—

I—All the component parts of South Asia, particularly India, Pakistan and Bangladesh come to a settlement, specially in the political, economic, external affairs and defence fields.

II—Hegemony of one of the South Asian powers over the others.

III—India becomes a Vietnam, and ultimately the client State of a Super-Power.

IV—Same as III, but direct control by a Super-Power.

V—Variant of III, several client States of various super-powers.

VI—The present uneasy conditions continue as a Fact of Life.

VII—The whole sub-continent breaks down into bits.

The analysis in Chapter 26 showed that only two alternatives are really probable, I or III. That is to say, mutual agreement to establish a South Asian Region; or functioning as the client State of a Super-Power. The second one is a horrible alternative. The first implies prior, full modernisation of India if she is to take the lead in the matter, as one would expect of her from her size, large numbers, the quality of her peoples, and their past achievements. Such modernisation, as civilizational analysis has shown, cannot come without far-reaching structural and behavioural changes, of the nature indicated in the 36-Point Suggestions above. Broadly, these involve.

—Pauranic Hinduism; Organisational lacunae.

The latter are due largely to lethargy and lack of civilizational analysis and are not difficult to rectify. But Romantic Nationalism has impeded the jettisoning of Pauranic Hinduism, a progressive syncretism when it was first fashioned about the Gupta period, (Chapter 15) but now obsolete and regressive. In the fight against the British all that was then Indian (i.e. essentially Stages 7 or 6—Theo-Aristocratic or Near-Theocratic) was held up against all

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



that was "Western" or "British" (essentially stages 9 and 10—"Bourgeois" and "Modern"). Civilizational analysis teaches us that there is no such thing as something permanently Indian or British. (Summarised, Chapters 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34). We will have to jettison all Stages 6 and 7 (Theocratic and Theo-Aristocratic). Values and Institutions which stand in the way of rapid change to Stage 10 ("Modern" or Scientific-Democratic). And Romantic Nationalism can hardly take offence if the alternative is a native Vedantist faith which can develop, a Vedantist belief advocated by Ram Mohan Roy, Vivekananda and Nehru.

After all, what is permanent in this world? Certainly not Values and Institutions, including religious ones, which we have seen, are always in a flux. To paraphrase the *Geeta* (II.22)—

Vasamsi jeernani
Yatha vihaya
Navani grihnati
Naroh—aparani
Tatha shareerani
Vihaya jeernanyanyani
Samyati navani dehi

(Even as a man casts off worn-out clothes, and put on others which are new, so the embodied casts off worn-out bodies, and enters into others which are new).

The task would be very much more difficult than arousing nationalism against comparatively mild, humane and liberal rulers like the British. It would be like awakening Kumbha Karna, Ravana's brother, the Sleeping Giant. Once Kumbha karna is awoken his energy and dynamism, as in the *Ramayana* story, would know no bounds.

The task will have to be performed by the youth of India over, at the most, a generation or two, keeping the prowling Super-Powers at arm's length. The present generation of rulers and elders, who were young in 1947, were brought up under alien rule, and suffer from the handicaps of the ethos of the politically subject. Breast-beatings alternate with vainglorious and bombastic

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



boastings, largely about the Past, evoking Romantic Nationalism. The youth of today, not having suffered from foreign political tutelage, are more realistic. The fibre is tougher, they are less taken in, less docile, basically idealists. Such impressionistic judgements are confirmed by sample surveys—for instance that of Professor M. B. Ghorpade of Bombay; and a persual of articles and letters in magazines like *Youth Times* edited by Anees Jung. There is every reason to believe that, guided by the perspective and the sense of direction which only civilizational analysis can give them, they will be able to awaken Kumbha Karna, the Sleeping Giant, entirely through Indian means. The path is difficult and tortuous, but no one who knows India can doubt that her strength is inexhaustible and that her spirit and mind can never be destroyed.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# REFERENCES


*Chapter* 23

1. Gordon Childe—The Prehistory of European Society (Pelican 1958), pp. 99 *et seq.*
2. Gordon Childe—*Op. cit.,* pp. 107 *et seq.*
   —Unesco History of Mankind, Vol. I (London, 1963), p. 826.
3. G. R. Levy—The Gate of Horn (London 1948), pp. 213 *et seq.*
4. Unesco History of Mankind, Vol. I, (London, 1963), p. 241.
5. Stuart Piggott (edior)—The Dawn of Civilization (London, 1962 edition), pp. 329 *et seq.*
6. Gordon Childe—The Prehistory of European Society (Pelican, 1958).
7. Gordon Childe—*Op. cit.,* p. 170.
8. William H. McNeill—The Rise of the West (Chicago, 1963), p. 454.
9. William H. McNeill—*Op. cit.,* p. 456.
10. Grahame Clark—World Prehistory (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 149-50.
11. Gordon Childe—*Op. cit., p.* 170.
12. Unesco History of Mankind (London,1963), Vol. I. p. 411.

*Chapter* 24

1. H. Sarkar—Monuments of Kerala (New Delhi, 1973), p. 43.
2. H. Sarkar—*Op. cit.,* p. 43.
3. H. Sarkar—*Op. cit., p.* 43.
4. H. Sarkar—*Op. cit.,* p. 44.
5. H. Sarkar—*Op. cit.,* pp. 44-45.
6. Manorama Year Book 1974 (Kottayam), p. 324.
7. William H. McNeill—*Op. cit.,* pp. 570-71.
8. T. K. Derry and Trevor I. Williams—A Short History of Technology (London, 1960), p. 205.
9. T. K. Derry and Trevor I. Williams—*Op. cit.,* p, 205.
10. Commander K. Sridharan—A Maritime History of India (New Delhi, 1965), p. 52.
11. Carleton Coon—The History of Man (London, 1955 edition), p. 322.
12. R. Sewell—A Forgotten Empire (Indian edition, Delhi, 1962), pp. 146, 188, 197, 203.
13. Manorama Year Book 1974 (Kottayam), p. 323.
14. L. S. S. O'Malley—Modern India and the West (Ox. U.P, 1941), p. 51.

*Chapter* 25

1. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 529.
2. Jan Romein—The Asian Century (English edition, London 1962), p. 26.
3. T. K. Derry and Trevor I. Williams—A Short History of Technology (London, 1960), p. 210.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



4. T. K. Derry and Trevor I. Williams—*Op. cit.*, p, 211.
5. Percival Spear—A History of India (Penguin, 1968 edition), p. 67.
6. L.S.S. O'Malley—Modern India and the West (Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 49.
7. Percival Spear—The Nabobs (Oxford, 1963 edition), p. 22.
8. Percival Spear—*Op. cit.*, p. 22.
9. S. Gopal—History Today, March 1959.
10. Suprakash Roy—Bharater Krishak vidroha o janatantrik Sangram (Bengali) (India's peasant rebellions and populist struggles, Calcutta 1966).
11. George D. Bearce—British attitudes towards India 1784-1858 (Ox. U.P. 1961), pp. 264-65.
12. George D. Bearce—*Op. cit.*, p. 231.
13. Susobhan Sarkar—Bengal Renaissance and other essays (New Delhi, 1970), p. 118.
14. Cf. V. V. Balabushevich and A. M. Dyakov—A Contemporary History of India (English edition, New Delhi 1964), p. 1.
15. N. C. Sinha—Studies in Indo-British economy hundred years ago (Calcutta, 1946), pp. 23 *et seq.*
16. N. K. Sinha—The Economic History of Bengal, Vol. III, (Calcutta 1970), p. 10.
17. Manmatha Nath Ghosh—Selections from the writings of Girish Chunder Ghose (Calcutta, 1912), pp. 1-43.
18. A. Yusuf Ali—A Cultural History of India during the British period (Bombay 1940), p. 67.
19. A. Yusuf Ali—*Op. cit.*, p. 68.
20. N. K. Sinha—*Op. cit.*, p. 108.
21. N. K. Sinha—*Op. cit.*, p. 108.
22. N. K. Sinha—*Op. cit.*, p. 130.
23. N. K. Sinha—*Op. cit.*, p. 131.
24. N. K. Sinha—*Op. cit.*, p. 86.
25. N. K. Sinha—*Op. cit.*, p. 30.
26. Brooks Adams—The Law of Civilization and Decay (1896 : New York, Vintage Books edition 1955). pp. 255-56 ; cf. also pp. 251-261.
27. Dhires Bhattacharyya—A Concise History of the Indian Economy 1750-1950 (Calcutta, 1972), pp. 17-18.
28. Michael Edwardes—Raj (Pan Books edition, London 1967), p. 112.
29. A. R. Desai—Social Background of Indian Nationalism (London, 1948), p. 153.
30. Harihar Seth—Pracheen Kalikata Parichay (in Bengali, Calcutta, 1952—"Introduction to Old Calcutta"), pp. 421-604.
31. Percival Spear—*Op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.
32. Percival Spear—*Op. cit.*, p. 36-37.
33. Percival Spear—*Op. cit.*, p. 63.
34. Percival Spear—*Op. cit.*, p. 63.
35. Percival Spear—*Op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.
36. Percival Spear—*Op. cit.*, p. 62.
37. L.S.S. O'Malley—*Op. cit.*, p. 322.
38. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 156.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



39. Nalin C. Ganguly—Raja Ram Mohan Roy (Calcutta, 1934), p. 8.
40. Mary Carpenter—Last days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (Calcutta edition, 1915), p. 3.
41. Nalin C. Ganguly—*Op. cit.*, p. 11.
42. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.
43. Nalin C. Ganguly—*Op. cit.*, p. 18.
44. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 55.
45. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
46. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 52.
47. Nalin C. Ganguly—*Op. cit.*, p. 22.
48. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 60.
49. Jogananda Das in "Studies in the Bengal Renaissance" (edited by Atul Chandra Gupta, Calcutta 1958), p. 482.
50. Jogananda Das—*Op. cit.*, p. 479.
51. A. Yusuf Ali, *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
52. A. Yusuf Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. 141.
53. Calcutta Review XIII (1850), p. 141.
54. A. Yusuf Ali—*Op. cit.*, pp. 111-12.
55. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, pp. 138/141.
56. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 142.
57. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 143.
58. A. Yusuf Ali—*Op. cit.*, p. 82.
59. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 113.
60. Susobhan Sarkar—*Op. cit.*, p. 109.
61. Susobhan Sarkar—*Op. cit.*, p. 111.
62. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 118.
63. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 139.
64. Susobhan Sarkar—*Op. cit.*, p. 121.
65. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 174.
66. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 177.
67. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 191.
68. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 190.
69. Bepin Behari Gupta—Puratan Prasanga ("Of Olden Times"), (Bengali, 1966 edition), pp. 131-32.
70. Arabinda Poddar—*Op. cit.*, p. 214.
71. S. K. Chatterjee—Languages and Literatures of Modern India (Calcutta, 1963), p. 182.
72. History Today (London), April 1962.
73. David Kopf—British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance (Calcutta edition, 1969), pp. 38-39.
74. Economic & Political Weekly—Sept. 11, 1971, pp. 1969 *et seq.*
75. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 161.
76. George D. Bearce—*Op. cit.*, p. 274.
77. George D. Bearce—*Op. cit.*, p. 113.
78. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 51.
79. Bepin Behari Gupta—*Op. cit.*, pp. 60-64.
80. A. Yusuf Ali—*Op. cit.*, p. 102.
81. Barbara Ward—India and the West (London, 1961), p. 17.

*Chapter* 26

1. Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt—Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India (Indian edition, Allahabad, 1958), p. 406.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



2. S. N. Sen—Eighteen Fifty Seven (New Delhi, 1957), p. 21.
3. S. N. Sen—*Op. cit.*, p. 349.
4. S. N. Sen—*Op. cit.*, p. 406.
5. S. N. Sen—*Op. cit.*, p. 1.
6. Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt—*Op. cit.*, p. 413.
7. S. N. Sen, *Op. cit.*, p. 413.
8. Vsyemirnaya Istoriya (Moskva), Tom. VI, pp. 404-18.
9. S. N. Sen—*Op. cit.*, p. 15.
10. E. Thompson and G. C. Garrett—*Op. cit.*, p. 394.
11. History Today (London), May 1957.
12. Vsyemirnaya Istoriya (Moskva, 1959), Tom. VI, p. 416.
13. John Manchip White—History Today (London), May 1957.
14. John Manchip White—History Today (London), May 1957.
15. John Lang—Wanderings in India (London 1859), pp. 93-94.
16. Michael Edwardes—The Last Years of British India (New English Library, London 1967), p. 247.
17. J. N. Bhagwati and Padma Desai—India, planning for Industrialisation (Oxford, 1970), p. 31.
18. B. N. Datar and I. G. Patel—Indian Economic Review, February, 1956.
19. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 96.
20. Cf. K. Seshadri—Journal of Indian History, August 1972, pp. 295-320.
21. Cf. G. T. Garrett in "The Legacy of India" (Ox. U.P. 1938), p. 403.
22. Michael Edwardes—Raj (Pan Books edition, London 1967), p. 210.
23. William A. Robson (editor)—The Civil Service in Britain and France (London, 1956), p. 2.
24. K. C. Wheare—The Machinery of Government (Oxford, 1945), pp. 7-9.
25. Herbert A. Simon in "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" (March 1954), p. 95.
26. Dean Paul H. Appleby—*Op. cit.*, p. 138.
27. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 112.
28. M. Kidron—Foreign Investments in India (Ox. U.P. 1965), pp. 20-21.
29. B. P. Maheshwari—Industrial and Agricultural Development of India since 1914 (New Delhi, 1972), p. 69.
30. Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, Government of India (1949-50) Vol. I, pp. 20-21.
31. Cf. Ranajit Dasgupta—Problems of Economic transition (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 2-3.
32. Ranajit Dasgupta—*Op. cit.*, p. 22.
33. J. N. Bhagwati and Padma Desai—*Op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.
34. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 286.
35. Wilfred Malenbaum—Prospects for Indian development (London, 1962), p. 155.
36. Vera Anstey—The Economic Development of India (London—1942 edition), p. 115.
37. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru—The Discovery of India (London, 1951), p. 309.
38. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 261.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



39. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 263.
40. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 258.
Vera Anstey—*Op. cit.*, p. 209.
41. Vera Anstey in L.S.S. O'Malley's "Modern India and the West" (Ox. U.P. 1941), p. 273.
Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 259.
42. Vera Anstey—The Economic Development of India (London, 1942 edition), p. 277.
43. Vera Anstey—*Op. cit.*, p. 273.
44. Vera Anstey in L.S.S. O'Malley—*Op. cit.*, p. 271
45. Dhires Bhattacharyya—A Concise History of the Indian Economy 1750-1950 (Calcutta, 1972), pp. 269-71.
46. Alak Ghosh—Indian Economy (Calcutta 1970), p. 36.
47. Vera Anstey—The Economic Development of India (London, 1942 edition), p. 269.
48. Vera Anstey—*Op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.
49. Bipan Chandra in "Ideas in History" edited by Bisheshwar Prasad (Delhi 1968), p. 321.
50. Barbara Ward—India and the West (London 1961), p. 139.
51. Quoted in Ranajit Das Gupta's "Problems of Economic Transition"' (Calcutta, 1970), p. 29.
52. Ranajit Das Gupta—*Op. cit.*, p. 29.
53. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 257.
54. J. N. Bhagwati and Padma Desai—India : planning for industrialization (Oxford university Press, 1970), pp. 34-35.
55. B. N. Datar and I. G. Patel—Indian Economic Review, February, 1956.
56. M. Kidron—Foreign Invesments in India (Ox. U.P. 1965), pp. 41-42.
57. Economic Weekly, 10th February, 1951, p. 154.
58. Bipan Chandra—Modern India (New Delhi, 1971), p. 190.
59. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 262.
60. Ranajit Dasgupta—*Op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.
Jawahar Lal Nehru—A. Bunch of Old Letters (Bombay, 1960), p. 159.
61. Ravinder Kumar—Western India in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1968), pp. 309-310.
62. J. N. Bhagwati and Padma Desai—*Op. cit.*, p. 56.
63. Ravinder Kumar—*Op. cit.*, p. 284.
64. Abdul Qayyum in "The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan" edited by S. M. Ikram and Percival Spear (Oxford, 1955), p. 185.
65. Vivekananda—Letters (Almora, 1942), p. 390.
66. Vivekananda—Letters, p. 83.
67. Vivekananda—Works (Almora, 1924-32), Vol. III, p. 157.
68. Vivekananda—Works, (Almora, 1924-32), Vol. IV, pp. 150-52.
69. Will Durant—The Story of Civilization—Our Oriental Heritage (New York, 1954), p. 618.
70. Vivekananda—As in entries 67 and 68 above.
71. Vivekananda—Works, Vol. III, p. 245.
72. Vivekananda—Letters, p. 320.
73. Vivekananda—Works, Vol. II, pp. 65, 334.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



74. Ninian Smart—The Religious Experience of Mankind (London, Fontana edition, 1971), pp. 677-78.
75. Vivekananda—The East and West (Calcutta, 1963 edition), p. 86.
76. Cf. Subodh Chandra Sen Gupta in "Studies in the Bengal Renaissance" (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 74-75.
77. Bankim Rachanabali (Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta 1954), Vol. II, p. 443.
78. M. G. Ranade—Rise of the Maratha Power (Bombay, 1901, reprinted 1961), pp. 66-67.
79. Sri Prakasa—Annie Besant (Bombay, 1954), p. 1.
80. S. Radhakrishnan in "Modern India and the West" (Oxford 1941), edited by L. S. S. O'Malley, p. 348.
81. Narayani Basu—Essay on "Tagore" in "Political Philosophy after Hegel and Marx" (Calcutta, 1956), p. 158.
82. Jawahar Lal Nehru—The Discovery of India (London, 1951), p. 318.
83. Russiar Chithi (in Bengali—Letters from Russia), p. 48.
84. Russiar Chithi, p. 177.
85. Correspondence of Mahatma Gandhi with Government, 1942-44 (Ahmedabad, 1945), p. 88.
86. B. R. Nanda—Mahatma Gandhi (London, 1958), p. 65.
87. B. R. Nanda—*Op. cit.*, p. 68.
88. M. K. Gandhi—The story of my experiments with Truth (Ahmedabad, 1945 edition), pp. 172, 198.
89. M. K. Gandhi—*Op. cit.*, p. 198.
90. Narayani Basu—*Op. cit.*, p. 173.
91. Joseph J. Doke—M. K. Gandhi (Madras, 1909), p. 88.
92. Harijan 10. 12. 38.
93. B. R. Nanda—*Op. cit.*, p. 520.
94. Young India, 13th Nov. 1929.
95. M. K. Gandhi—*Op. cit.*, p. 365.
96. B. R. Nanda—*Op. cit.*, p. 379.
97. A. B. Shah (editor)—Jawahar Lal Nehru : A Critical Tribute (Bombay 1965), p. 125.
98. Michael Brecher—Nehru (London, 1959), p. 165.
99. Krishna Hutheesing—We Nehrus (Bombay, 1968), p. 5.
100. Michael Brecher—*Op. cit.*, p. 563.
101. Michael Brecher—*Op. cit.*, p. 512.
102. Nicholas Nabokov in "Nehru—A Critical Tribute", edited by A. B. Shah (Bombay, 1965), p. 24.
103. M. Chalapathi Rau—Jawahar Lal Nehru (New Delhi, 1973), p. 5.
104. Abdul Qayyum in "The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan" edited by S. M. Ikram (Oxford 1955), p. 193.
105. Jawahar Lal Nehru—The Discovery of India (London, 1961), p. 329.
106. G. P. Bhattacharjee—Evolution of Political Philosophy of M. N. Roy (Calcutta 1971), p. 241.
107. G. P. Bhattacharjee—*Op. cit.*, p. 241.
108. M. N. Roy—Reason, Romanticism and Revolution (Calcutta 1952/1955), Vol. I, pp. 65 *et seq.*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



109. M. N. Roy—*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 15.
110. M. N. Roy—*Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 15.
111. M. N. Roy—*Op. cit.*, Vol.II, pp. 14 *et seq.*
112. M. N. Roy—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1.
113. M. N. Roy—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 209, 233.
114. M. N. Roy—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223.
115. M. N. Roy—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223.
116. M. N. Roy—New Humanism (Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1953), p. 26.
117. G. P. Bhattacharjee—*Op. cit.*, p. 167.
118. G. P. Bhattacharjee—*Op. cit.*, p. 237.
119. G. P. Bhattacharjee—*Op. cit.*, p. 174.
120. Jay Prakash Narayan—From Socialism to Sarvodaya (Benares, 1959), p. 10/Swaraj for the People (Benares, 1961), Introduction.
121. James Mill—The History of British India, (London, 1858, 5th edition), p. 366.
122. James Mill—*Op. cit.*, p. 342.
123. Mounstuart Elphinstone—The History of India (London, 1916, ninth edition), p. 213.
124. E. T. Stokes in C. H. Philips (editor)—Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon (London, 1961), p. 395.
125. E. T. Stokes—*Op. cit.*, p. 388.
126. E. T. Stokes—*Op. cit.*, p. 390.
127. E. T. Stokes—*Op. cit.*, p. 391.
128. E. T. Stokes—*Op. cit.*, p. 397.
129. E. T. Stokes—*Op. cit.*, p. 398.
130. A. L. Basham in C. H. Philips—*Op. cit.*, p. 271.
131. Vincent Smith—Oxford History of India (1919), p. 182.
132. R. C. Majumdar in C. H. Philips—*Op. cit.*, p. 419.
133. R. C. Majumdar—*Op. cit.*, p. 419.
134. Economic and Political Weekly, Sept. 11, 1971, pp. 1969 *et seq,*
135. R. C. Majumdar in C. N. Philips—*Op. cit.*, p. 424.
136. A. L. Basham in C. H. Philips—*Op. cit.*, p. 286.
137. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.*, p. 286.
138. Cf. C. H. Philips—*Op. cit.*, pp. 429-497.
139. A. B. M. Habibullah in C. H. Philips—*Op. cit.*, pp. 488-490.
140. A. B. M. Habibullah—*Op. cit.*, pp. 488-491.
141. Allen J. Greenburger—The British Image of India (Oxford, 1969, p. 4).
142. G. T. Garratt—The Legacy of India (Oxford, 1937), p. 416.
143. Basudha Chakravarty—Kazi Nazrul Islam (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 63-64/70.
144. Kazi Abdul Wadud in "Contemporary Indian Literature" (New Delhi, 1957), p. 28.
145. Prof. T. Burrow—Article on Indian Languages, Chambers Encyclopaedia, Vol. 7 (1959 edition), p. 478.
146. S. H. Vatsyayan in "Contemporary Indian Literature" (New Delhi, 1957), pp. 75-76.
147. P. N. Pushp in "Contemporary Indian Literature" (New Delhi, 1957), pp. 116-17.
148. Khushwant Singh in "Contemporary Indian Literature" (New Delhi, 1957), p. 184.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



149. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, p. 182.
150. M. V. Rajadhyaksha in "Contemporary Indian Literature" (New Delhi, 1957), p. 145.
151. K. Ramakotiswara Rau—Contemporary Indian Literature (New Delhi, 1957), pp. 252-53.
152. Prema Nandakumar—Subramania Bharati (New Delhi, 1968), p. 18.
153. Malayala Manorama Year Book 1974 (Kottayam), p. 323.
154. Malayala Manorama Year Book, 1974 (Kottayam), p. 335.
155. C. Kunhan Raja in "Contemporary Indian Literature" (New Delhi, 1957), pp. 123-25.
156. C. Kunhan Raja—*Op. cit.*, pp. 137-38.
157. Meenakshi Mukherjee—The Twice Born Fiction (New Delhi, 1971), p. 81.
158. Meenakshi Mukherjee—*Op. cit.*, p. 82.
159. Michael Edwardes—Raj (London, 1967, Pan edition), p. 286.
160. Michael Edwardes—*Op. cit.*, p. 205.
161. Marie Seton—India International Centre Quarterly, (New Delhi), Vol. 2, No. 2, 1975, pp. 138-43.

*Chapter* 28

1. Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels—Mother-right in India (Hyderabad, 1941), p. 105.
2. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri and K. K. Datta—An Advanced History of India (London, 1950), p. 115.
3. R. C. Majumdar *et al*—*Op. cit.*, p. 178.

*Chapter* 31

1. A. L. Basham—The Wonder that was India (Indian edition, Calcutta 1971), p. 492.
2. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.*, p. 492.
3. Jean Filliozat in Rene Taton's "Ancient and Medieval Science" (English edition, London, 1957), p. 138.
4. Jean Filliozat—*Op. cit.*, p. 139.
5. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.*, pp. 233, 492.

*Chapter* 35

1. Simon Kuznets—Modern Economic Growth (Indian edition, 1966), p. 137.
2. M. Vassiliev and S. Gouschev—Life in the twenty first century (Penguin, 1961), pp. 185-88.
3. J. P. Cole—Geography of World Affairs (Pelican 1972 edition), p. 120.
4. J. P. Cole—*Op. cit.*, p. 428.
5. George N. Halm—Economic Systems (Indian edition, Bombay 1971), p. 45.
6. J. K. Galbraith—The New Industrial State (Signet Book edition, New York, 1968), pp. 297 *et seq.*
7. Cited by J. P. Cole in "Geography of World Affairs" (Pelican, 1972 edition), p. 106.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



*Chapter* 36

1. B. R. Nayar—The Modernization Imperative and Indian Planning (Delhi 1972), pp. 48-49.
—D. R. Gadgil—Planning and Economic Policy in India (Bombay, 1965), p. 285.
—P. N. Dhar—The Journal of Development Studies (Oct. 1966), pp. 49, 51.
2. Sankhya XVI (Dec. 1955), pp. 3-62.
3. Cf. D. R. Samant—Approach to the Fifth Plan (Bombay, 1973).
4. A. Vasudevan—The Strategy of Planning in India (Meerut, 1970), p. 243.
5. A Summary of Prof. Amlan Datta's views are given in the "Statesman" of 26th June 1972.
6. J. P. Cole—Geography of World Affairs (Penguin, 1972 edition), p. 268.
—Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 1972 edition, pp. 502 *et seq.*
7. Nissim Ezekiel—Illustrated Weekly of India, 22nd June, 1975.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

# INDEX

## VOL. II

A.

Abbas, Khwaja Ahmad, 242
Abduh, Shaikh Muhammad, 150, 257
Absorption of caste-ideas by the conquerors, 61-2
Adam, Rev. William, 66
Adams, Brooks, 59
Adler, M., 375
Administration, modernization, 123-27
Administration, Reorganisation, 389-90
Agarkar, Ganesh Gopal, 143, 223
Agency Houses, 56-8
Ahalya Bai, 49
Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam, of Qadian, 157-58, 282, 393
Ahmad, Muzaffar, 122
Ahmad, Nazir, 149-50, 215
Akbar, 171, 173, 266
Al-Afghani, Jamal-al-din, 150, 157, 257, 259
Al-Beruni, 326
Alkazi, Ebrahim, 248
Al-Tahtawi, Rifaat, 256
Ali, Abdullah Yusuf, 55, 74
Ali, Aruna Asaf, 120-21
Ali, Chiragh, 149-50
Ali, Hyder, 49
Ali, Mehemet, 256
Ali, Sayyid Ameer, 150-51
Allahabadi, Akbar, 150, 216
Altruism, Creative, 151, 170
Amanat, 88
Ambedkar, B. R., 385
Anand, Mulk Raj, 242
Anderle, Othmar, 358, 376
Annadurai, 229
Anstey, Vera. 131, 134, 192
Antarjanam, Lalitamba, 233
Antarjanam, Parvati, 232
Antonova, Madame, 59
Apte, Hari Narayan, 223
Arakanese Mughs, 24
Armytage, W. H. G., 365
Arnold, Sir Edwin, 164
Arnold, William Delafield, 81, 87
Arya Samajism, 399-400
Aryan hypothesis, 81-4
Asan, Kumaran, 232-33
Ashoka, 171-74, 266, 279, 347
Asia, South 265-66
—Economic Community, 382
Astrology, 349-50
Atheno-Hellenic Society, 26-68
Atkinson, Ti-Grace, 373
Aurobindo, 160-64, 282, 393
Ayyangar, N. Gopalaswami, 385
Ayyangar, Masti Venkatesa, 230
Ayyar, Alladi Krishnaswami, 385
Ayyar, Rajam, 228
Azad, Muhammad Husain, 215

B.

Bab, 176, 259
*Babu,* Bengali, in English literature, 196-97, 199
Baha, Allah, 259
Bahais, 259
Banaji, Framji, 54
Banerjee, Bibhuti Bhushan, 203, 206
Banerjee, Manik, 205
Banerjee, Rev. K. M., 76
Banerjee, Surendra Nath, 116, 191
Banerjee, Tara Shankar, 203
*Baniyas,* 262, 264, 278
Basham, A. L., 192, 327
Basheer, Vaikom Muhammad, 232-33
Basu, Major B. D., 190
Basu, Narayani, 162
Battle Axe, Corded Ware People, 7
Beaker, Tulip or Funnel, people, 6
Bendre, D. R., 230

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Benedict, Ruth, 369
Bengal School of painting, 245
Bengal Renaissance
—The Second Indian Cultural Revolution, 75-8, 393
—Its flickering away, why ? 80-1
Bentinck, 51, 60, 73, 171, 272
Bentham, 147
Bergson, 161-62, 175-76
Berkeley, Bishop, 146
Besant, Mrs. Annie 117-18, 159-60, 282
Bethune, John Drinkwater, 74-5
Beveridge, 186
Bezbarua, Lakshmi Nath, 207
Bhabha, Homi, 306, 393
*Bhadralok*, 60, 120, 205, 251
*Bhakti* religions, 399-400
*Bhangra*, 249
Bharati, Subrahmanya, 228
Bharati-dasan, 229
Bhatia, Sheila, 247
Bhtttacharjee, G. P., 177, 179
Bhattacharyya, Bhabani, 239
Bhattacharyya, Gangadhar, 53
Bhattacharyya, Krishna Kamal, 79
Bhattacharyya, Sukanta, 205
Bhavani, Rani, 49
Bherumal, 220
Blavatsky, Mme. 159, 282
Bombay, 40
Bopp, 183
Borodin, 177
Bose, Ananda Mohan, 116
Bose, "Feringhee" Kamal, 66
Bose, Nandalal, 245
Bose, Netaji Subhas Chandra, 117, 119, 121, 141
Brahmani, Bhairavi, 159
Brahmo Samaj,
—The First Indian Cultural Revolution, 66-8
Brahmoism, 282, 399-400
Brij Bhushan, Jamila, 327
Britain
—Mistress of the Seas, 37-8
—and the Dutch, 37-8
—and the Portuguese, 38-9
—Pirates, 39
—and the Mughals, 39
Buckingham, James Silk, 52
Buddhism, 397, 399-400
Bull, Mrs. Ole, 152
Burgess, James, 183

C.

Calcutta, 40
Camoes, Luis Vas de, 23
Canning, 110, 174, 263
Caravels, Portuguese, 20-21
Carpenter, Mary, 64
Carr, Tagore, Agency House, 57
Casey, Mrs. R. G., 245
*Caste*, 23
Centres, Growth, 389
Centrally Administered Areas, more, 389
Chagtai, Abdur Rahman, 246
Chakravarti, Sukhomoy, 379-80
Chakravarti, Tara Chand, 76
Chandar, Krishan, 217
Chandra, Moti, 327
Changes in Food and Drink in the Hindu-Buddhist Civilization, 319-27
Changes in Indian Civilization, Function by Function, 274-83
Changes in Indian Civilization
—the Regional Picture
—General, 286, 316-18
—*Udichya*, 286-90
—Kashmir, 290-92
—*Madhya Desha*, 292-96
—*Prachya*, 296-302
—*Paschatya*, 302-06
—Maharashtra, 300-10
—Dakshinatya, 310-16
Changes in Women's Dress, 327-31
Changing character of "national civilizations", 355-57
Chardin, Teilhard de, 397, 400
Charnock, Job, 40
Chaudhuri, Nirad, 189, 205
Chatterjee Bankim Chandra, 50, 88, 155-56, 206
Chatterjee, Sarat Chandra, 202
Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar, 201
Chattopadhyay, Aparna, 324
Chettiars, 136-37
Chikamatsu, Monzaemon, 32
Chiplunkar, V. K., 223

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Chittagong, 24
'Cho', 248
Christianity, 397
Christians, Indian, 24-25
Christians, Syrian, 19-20
Chughtai, Ismat, 216
Cinema, 249-52
Civilizationology, Civilizational Analysis, 358-61, 395
Civilizations, Convergence, 362-67

Clive, Robert, 41
Cobden, Richard, 52, 112
Cole, J. P., 272
Colebrooke, H. T., 83-4, 91, 183, 188
Communes, 389-90
Company, "dry nurse of Vishnu", 63
Condorcet, 181
"Consciousness" of Various Stages of Civilization, 35-6
Control, Financial, new type, 389
Controls, Survey of, 381
Conwell, Russell Herman, 167, 176
Coon, Carleton, 23
Cornwallis, 51, 55
Couto, Diego do, 23
Cretan Theo-Mercantile, 3-6
—Parent of Athenian, legacies to Athenian Greeks and West Europe, 6
Cunningham, Alexander, 183
Cursetjee, Ardeshir, 54
Curzon, 113, 126, 128, 137-38, 184, 244 261, 262, 273, 280

D.

Da Gama, Vasco, 21-22
Da Orta, Garcia, 23
Dagh, Mirza Khan, 107
Dalhousie, 50, 52, 54,
Dambe, K. K. ("Keshavsut"), 223
Dange, S. A., 122
Darlington, C. D., 342
Darwin, Charles, 152
Das, C. R., 118
Das, Kamala, 237
Das, Sajani Kanta, 205
Dass, K. K., 389
Dastur, Dinshaw, 377
Datar, B. N., 140
Datta, Amlan, 379-80
Datta, Utpal, 247
Davar, Cowasjee, 55
Dayananda, 64, 156-57, 282, 393
De Beauvoir, Simone, 373
De Nobili, Roberto, 24-25
De Suffren, 41
Deoband School, 150
Derozeo, Henry Louis Vivian, 75-8, 91
Derozeans, 75-81, 146, 393
Desai, Anita, 240
Desani, G. V., 239
Deshmukh, Gopal Hari, 143, 223
Deshpande, P. L., 247
Devi Chaudhurani, 50
Devi, Mahasveta, 40, 109, 203
Devi, Rukmini, 248
Devi, Swarna Kumari, 130, 393
Dey, Ram Doolal, 57
Dhamija, Jasleen, 246
Diakonoff, I. M., 18
Dictatorship, Viceregal, 385
Dicter, Madge, 374
Diderot, 75, 181
Digby, John, 64
Digby, W. 190
Dikshitar, V. R., 191
Districts, optimum size, 388-89
Diver, Maud, 195
Dongerkerry, Kamala, 327
*Drona-Ekalavya* syndrome, 279, 384, 387, 404
Drummond, 75
Dubey, Satyadev, 248
Duff, Alexander, 63
Duncan, Jonathan, 83
Dupleix, Joseph Francois, 41
Dutt, Akshay Kumar, 78, 88, 130, 393
Dutt, Michael Madhusudan, 79, 206
Dutt, Romesh Chunder, 137, 190
Dutt, Toru and Aru, 238

E.

Education, Hunter Commission, 243
Edwardes, Michael, 121, 138, 192
Ehrenfels, 313
Elections, spending only by governments, 386-88, 406

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Engels, 373
English
—Business language of the world, 375
—Strengthening teaching, 394
Europe West
—Cretan Theo-Mercantile, 3-6
—Peopling of, 6-7
—First West European Theo-Mercantile, 7-9
—Theo-Aristocratic ("Medieval"), 9-12
—Religious nature of "Medieval" Europe, 12
—Second West European Theo-Mercantile, 12-16
—Interaction of the Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile Stages, 16
—Reasons for West European superiority in science and technology in the sixteenth century, 16-18
—Rational Mercantile, 28-9
—Scientific-Democratic Stage, 93-8
Ezekiel, Nissim, 390

F.

Fabri, Charles, 327, 331
Family, Joint, 391
Female education, 74-5
Ferguson, Adam, 32, 359
Feudal system, 15
Fikret, Tewfik, 256
Firestone, Shulamith, 374
Forbes, A. C., 220
Forces, External, 338-39
Forrester, Jay W., 371
Forster, E. M., 193, 195
Friedan, Betty, 373
Fukuzawa, Yukichi, 255
Fuller, Buckminster, 371

G.

Galbraith, J. K., 372
Galleons, 20-21
Gandhi, Mrs. Indira, 138, 268, 385
Gandhi, Mahatma, 117-19, 153, 164-68, 172, 176, 282, 389, 393
Ganga Ram, 40
Gargi, Balwant Singh, 219
Garratt, G. T., 192, 198
*Geleyara Gumpu,* 230
Ghorpade, M. B., 411
Ghose, Sudhin, 238
Ghosh, Aurobindo, 119, 160-62, 282, 393
Ghosh, Ram Gopal, 76
Ghosh, Sachindra Lal, 243
Ghurye, G. S., 327
Gibbon, 81
Gibran, Khalil, 258
Gilchrist, John, 74, 83
Gill, Robert, 82
Goans, 20-24
Godden, Jon and Rumer, 198
Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 117, 262
"Golden Goa", 22-23
Gopal, S., 50
Gouschev, S., 371
Greer, Germaine, 373
Grierson, Sir George, 192
Growth Centres, 389-90
"Guardians" concept, 125
Gujaratis, 59 133, 136-37
Gupta, Ishwar, 87
Guthrie, T. A., 197

H.

Habibullah, A. B. M., 191
Haider, Qurrat-ul-Ain, 217
Halacy, Jr., D. S., 371
Halhed, 83
Hali, 149, 191, 215
Hallstatt, 8
Halm, George N., 365, 372
Hare, David, 72, 74, 79
Harrison, Agatha, 166
Harrod-Domar Model, 380
Hastings, Warren, 51
Havell, E. B., 188, 245
Heber, Bishop, 63, 66, 86
Helvetius, 181
Henty, G. A., 193
Hicky, James August, 52, 75, 110
Hinduism, Pauranic, inhibits modernization, 261-65, 282, 397-99
Hindustani, Roman, 394-95
Historians—
—Archaeological discoveries boost Hindu and Muslim egos, 183-85

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



—Colonial, 185-88
—Pan-Aryanists, 188-89
—Ultra-Nationalists, 189-90
—Romantic Anti-Colonialists, 190-91
—Regional Chauvinists, 191-92
—Realo-Idealists, 192-93
Hooghly, 24
Hossain, Attia, 239-40
Hu Shih, 254
Humanism—
—Liberal/Realo-Idealists/ Revolutionary, 358-60
Hume, A.O., 116
Hunter, Sir William, 187
Hutchinson, Lester, 122
Hutheesing, Krishna, 169
Hyder, Ghazi-ud-din, King of Oudh, 55

I.

I. C. S., (Indian Civil Service), 124-26
Indian Christians, 24-25
Indian Society, Weakness vis-a-vis, West Europe, 34-39
Indicopleustes, Cosmas, 19
Interaction with Rational-Mercantile West Europe—Factory Period (1600-1680), 37-39
—Zamindari and intervention in politics or trade (1680-1757), 39-42
—Empire (1757-1857), 42-3
—Values and Insitutions, 43-7
Long resistanee by Indians, feudal leaders as well as peasants, 47-51
—Political Transformation : Rational-Mercantilists teach better methods of administration, sow the seeds of Independence and teach techniques of political agitation, 51-3
—Transformation in Science and Technology : foundations laid by the Rational-Mercantile but very little effect on Theo-Aristocratic Indians : appropriation by Theo-Mercantile Parsees : attempted appropriation in Lucknow, 53-5
—Transformation of the economy : land a saleable commodity, a new principle : shaking the Pagoda Tree : the Anglo-Bengali and Anglo-Parsee Houses : the prosperity of the commercial classes, 55-9
—Transformation of social relations : changes in class composition : injections of Humanism and Rationalism : Reconciliation in Daily Life : absorption of caste ideas by the conquerors, 59-62
—Transformation in Religion : apparent failure of Christianity : Ram Mohan's Universal Church fails : Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj : the First Indian Cultural Revolution, 62-8
—Transformation in Culture, a rich medley, 68-88
—Interaction elsewhere in Asia, 89-90
—Weakness of the Indian Response : The Quasi-Bourgeois veneer, 90-2
—Interaction with West European (British) Scientific-Democratic, 1857 to 1947
—A Tabloid, 99-104
—The Conservative Political-Military Revolts of 1857-59, 104-110
—What if the Indians had won the 1857-59 wars ? 110-112
—Configurational Dynamics : Changing Classes, 112-15
—Struggles for freedom, 115-23
—Modernization of administration, 123-27
—Weak development in science and technology, apathy of Indians, except Parsees, 127-31
—Creation of the modern economic sector : *Swadeshi* : Indian private sector neglects creating an industrial economy : Curzon's hustling : the two World Wars force some

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



industrialisation : Jawahar Lal Nehru implants economic planning in the Indian Consciousness, 131-42
—Social reforms : its weakness and reasons therefor : the reformers of Maharashtra, 142-47
—Attempts to change the Indian Consciousness and modernise it, 147-183
—Change in History-Consciousness, 183-93
—Changing attitudes in the Literature of the Conquerors, 193-200
—Transformation of Indian Literature, 200-43
—Education, 243-44
—Art and architecture, 244-47
—Theatre, dancing and music, 247-49
—Cinema, 249-52
—Everyday Life, 252-53
—Interaction elsewhere in Asia : comparison with India, 253-61
—Weakness of the Quasi-Modern in India : Pauranic Hinduism inhibits modernization, 261-65
Intermediate towns, 389-90
Iqbal, 174-77, 216, 393
Islam, 397
Islam, Nazrul, 202, 204-05
Iyer, L. A. Ananthakrishna, 313

J.

Jabbar, Abdul, 204
Jacquemont, de, 61, 87
Japanese, Rational Mercantile, 31-32
—Why did it not evolve to the Scientific-Democratic Stage, 98-9
Jatoi, Haidar Bux, 220
Jayaswal, K. P., 189
Jha, Hari Mohan, 215
Jhabvala, Ruth, 240
Jinnah, M. A., 118, 124
Johnson, Samuel, 374
Jones, Sir William, 54, 183, 188
Joshi, Arun, 240
Jowett, Benjamin, 125, 262, 280
Jung, Anees, 411

K.

Kahn, H., 371
Kalhana, 290
Kalighat *patuas*, 245
"Kalki" (R. Krishnamurti), 229
Kamba-dasan, 229
Kang Yu-wei, 253
Karandikar, Vinayak, 223-24
Karnad, Girish, 248
Karunanidhi, 229
Karve, Irawati, 306
Kashmir, 290-92
Kaul, Zinda, 218
*Kavir larai* ("fight of poets"), 87-8
Kemal, Mustafa, 256, 260
Keshavsut, 223-24
Khan, Mirza Abu Taleb-Travelogue, 86
Khan, Rasheed-ud-din, 388
Khan, Sayyid Ahmad, 64, 148-51, 176, 282, 393
Khatris, 136-37
Kipling, Rudyard, 193-195, 197-99
Kishinchand, 220
Kissinger, Henry, 265
Knowles, Lilian, 192
Kokan, Shiba, 334
Kolhatkar, 88
Kosambi, D. D., 307, 309, 393
Kottayam, 19
Kristol, Irving, 372
Kroeber, A. L., 309
Kuczynski, Jurgen, 132
Kumarapala's *amarighoshanas*, 326
Kumbha Karna, 410
Kurup, G. Sankara, 232-33, 235
Kuo Seng-tao, 253-54, 333

L.

L'Enfant, 246
La Tene, 8
Lakshmi Bai, of Jhansi, 108-10
Lakshmi Narasimhan, Chilakamurti, 226
Land Reforms, 382
Land Settlement, of Cornwallis, 55-6
Lebedeff, Gerasim, and the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



origin of the modern Bengali Stage, 81
Legacies of various Stages of Civilization, 284-85
Lenin, 174
Levitas, Gloria, 374
Lewis, Archibald, 11
Literature
—of the English, about India, 193-200
Literature, Transformation of Indian
—General, 200-01, 236
—Bengali, 201-06
—Assamese, 206-08
—Oriya, 208-09
—Hindi/Maithili, 209-15
—Urdu, 215-17
—Kashmiri, 217-18
—Punjabi, 218-19
—Sindhi, 220
—Gujarati, 220-22
—Marathi, 222-25
—Telugu, 226-27
—Tamil, 227-29
—Kannada, 229-31
—Malayalam, 231-35
—Indo-Anglian, 236-43
Lutyen, Sir Edwin, 246
Lyall, Sir Alfred, 187

M.

Macaulay, 51, 72-3, 85, 112, 171, 174
Maccoby, Eleanor, 374
*Madhya Desha,* 292-96
Mahadevan, Iravatham, 312-13
Mahalanobis, Prasanta Chandra, 262, 276, 379
*Mahalwari* system, 56
Mahjoor, Pirzada Ghulam Ahmad, 217
Maharashtra Renaissance, 393
Maine, Sir Henry, 187
Maitra, Akshay Kumar, 190
Majumdar, R. C., 189
Malabari, Behramji, 143
Malleson, Col. G. B., 186
Mallick, Rasik Krishna, 76
Managing Agents, 131-32
Manchester Liberals, 52
Manor, 10
Manu, 174
Mao, Tse-tung, 174, 254, 259
Mappillai, K. Cheriyan, 232
Marcuse, Herbert, 369
Markandeya, Kamala, 238-39
Marriage, 390-91
Marshall, Sir John, 184
Marshman, 52
Marwaris, 59, 136
Marx, Karl, 178-180
Marzban, Fardunji, 53
Masters, John, 199
Maugham, Somerset, 198
Mayo, 126, 262
Mead, Margaret, 373
Meadows, Dennis, 371
Megaliths, 6-7
Meghani, Jhaverchand, 221
Menon, O.Chandu, 232
Menon, V. K. Krishna, 122, 276
Menon, Vallathol Narayana, 232-34
Merchants, armed, of West Europe, 15
*Meriah,* 60
Metcalfe, Sir Charles, 52
Mill, James, 85-6, 90, 185-86
Mill, John Stuart, 147, 373
Millett, Kate, 373
Mission, Ramakrishna, 400-01
Mitra, Bimal, 203
Mitra, Peary Chand, 77
Mitra, Sombhu, 247
Mitra, Tripti, 247
Mitter, Kissory Chand, 67, 133-34
Mookerji, R. K., 189
Morgan, Elaine, 373
Mueller, Max, 84, 91, 183, 189
Mughs, Arakanese, 24
Mukherjee, Bharati, 240
Mukherjee, Bhudev, 155-56
Mukherjee, Dakshina Ranjan, 77
Mukherjee, Mani Shankar ("Shankar"), 204
Mukherjee, Meenakshi, 239
Mukherjee, Moni, 132
Mulk, Muhsinul, 149-50
Mundassery, Joseph, 234
Munshi, K. M., 221, 240

N.

*Nabobs,* 41-2

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Nadim, Dina Nath, 218
*Nadva* group, 150
Nagarajan, 242
Naidu, Sarojini, 239
Nair, Palai Narayanan, 234
Naoroji, Dadabhai, 59, 116, 134-35, 262, 305
Narayan, Jay Prakash, 119-20, 180
Narayan, R. K., 240-41
"National Civilizations", their changing character, 355
Nationalism, Romantic, 410
*Nautch,* 61
Nazir, 88
Nehru, Jawahar Lal, 119, 131, 138, 141-42, 168-73, 241, 263, 273, 282, 370, 385, 410
Nehru-Mahalanobis Model, 173, 377-382
Nehru, Motilal, 118
Nietzsche, 161, 175
Nomani, Shibli, 150, 192

O.

O'Malley, L. S. S., 192
Oates, Joyce Carol, 370
Ochterlony, 49
Omvedt, Gail, 85
Optimum size, states and districts, 388
"Orientalists", 81-4
Outram, 49

P.

Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, Aryamehr, 258
Pahlavi, Reza Shah, 258-59
Paine, Tom, 75, 146
Painting, Indo-Anglian, 86
Pal, Bepin Chandra, 118
*Panchsheel,* 172
Panikkar, K. M., 233
Pantulu, Vireshalingam, 226
Paradis, 41
Pargiter, 341
Parkes, Fanny, 65
Parsees, 57-9, 61, 129-30, 136
Partition, of India, was it natural ? 265-69
Parwiz, Ghulam Ahmad, 158,
*Paschatya,* 302-06
Patel, I. G., 140
Phadnavis, Nana, 49
Phipps, Henry, 138
Phule, Mahatma Jyotiba, 144
Pirenne, Henri, 11
Plassey, 41, 59
Plato, 280
Plough, Heavy mold-board, 10
Poddar, Arabinda, 54, 75
Portuguese
—caravels, 20-22
—galleons, 20-21
—mastery of the seas, 22-23
Portuguese Theo-Mercantile
—Interaction with India, 20-24
*Prachya,* 296-302
Prinsep, James, 82
Pritam, Amrita, 218
Progress
—Automatic/Pan-Functional Induced|Apocalyptic, 358-61
Progressives and Conservatives, 332-35
Public Sector, 379-81
Pudmanji, Baba, 223
Punjwani, Ram, 220
Puri, Tota, 151
Puritan America, 30
*Purogamana Vadam,* 235

Q.

Qurrat-al-Ayn, 259

R.

Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli, 159
Rai, Lala Lajpat, 118
Rajagopalachari, Chakravarti ("C.R."), 229
Rakesh, Mohan, 247
Ram, Dalpat, 220
Rama, 293, 341
Ramakrishna, 64, 151-53, 282, 393, 399-400
Raman, C. V., 130, 244
*Ramayana* story, 341
Ranade, M. G., 135, 143-44, 147, 156
*Rangakusha,* 334
Rashmoni, Rani, 151
Rational-Mercantile ("Bourgeois")
—Rise in West Europe, 26-32
—In Russia, 31

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



—In Japan, 32-2
—Why did all Theo-Mercantile Societies not evolve to the Rational-Mercantile ? 32-4
Rau, Santha Rama, 238
Ravana, 293, 341
*Ravikiran Mandal,* 224-25
Ray, Satyajit, 250
Reassertion of old values and themes in literatures and ideology, 68-70
Reformation, 15
Reforms, Land, 382
Reforms, Political,
—Morley-Minto, 118
—Montagu-Chelmsford, 118
—1935 Act (Provincial Autonomy), 119
Rushwa, Mirza Hadi, 216
Ruskin, John, 165, 398
Russell, Bertrand, 397
Russian, Rational-Mercantile, 31
*Ryotwari* system, 56

S.

Sadarangani, Guli, 220
Sahgal, Nayantara, 238, 241
Sankalia, H. D., 341
Sankrityayana, Rahul, 213-14
Saraswati, Bala, 249
Sarkar, Badal, 247
Sarshar, Ratan Nath, 215
Sartre, 375
Sarur, Mirza Raja Ali Beg, 53
*Sarvodaya,* 165, 168, 264
Sastri, K. A. Nilakantha, 314, 325
Sastri, Shiv Nath, 203
*Satyagraha,* 165-68
Schlegel, 183
Schools, of Indian Classical dancing, 249
Science
—Grass Roots Work, 377, 405
—Thinking Big, 377-78, 405
Scientific-Democratic Stage, 93-98
Scott, Paul, 199
Scott, Walter, 81
Sedley, James, 110
Sen, Keshab, 147-48
Senapati, Fakir Mohan, 208
Serampore Missionaries, 53, 71
Serfaji of Tanjore, 86-7
Seth, Harihar, 60
Seth, Jagat, 58
Seton, Marie, 252
Shah, A. B., 169
Shah, K. T., 142
Shah, Wajid Ali, 55, 88
Shah, Waris, 218
Shahjahan, 24
Shankar, Narmad, 221
Shankar, Uday, 249
Sharar, Abdul Halim, 191
Sharman, Gopal, 248
Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 385
Shelley, Mary Wollestonecraft, 373
Sher-Gil, Amrita, 245
Shraddhanand, Swaci, 157
Shute, Nevil, 198
Sikdar, Radha Nah, 77
Sikhism, 399-400
Sindhia, Mahadaji, 49
Sindhis, 59, 136
Singh, Bhai Vir, 218
Singh, Gurbaksh, 219
Singh, J. J., 122
Singh, Khushwant, 216, 219, 242
Singh, Mohan, 219
Singh, Ranjit, 49
Singh, Sujan, 219
Slavery, 60
Sleeman, Sir William, 60
Smart, Ninian, 400
Smith, Adam, 147, 181
Smith, Vincent, 187, 267
Snow, C. P., 273
Sorokin, Pitrim, 153, 170, 369
"Spaceship Earth", 371
Spate, O.H.K., 265
Spear, Percival, 41
Spencer, Herbert, 147, 152
Spengler, Oswald, 369
Spratt, Philip, 122
Srinivas, M. N., 388
Stages of Civilization and Consciousness in India, 270-73
States, optimum size, 388-89
States Reorganisation Commission, Second, 388
Steel, Flora Annie, 194
Steinem, Gloria, 374
Stephen, 125, 186-87

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Stonehenge, 6
Subrahmanian, N., 312
Sumroo, Begum, 50
Sun Yat Sen, 254
*Suttee,* 60
*Swadeshi,* 134-35
—and Bengali *babus,* 134
Syrian Christians, 19-20

T.

Tagore, Abanindra Nath, 245
Tagore, Dwarka Nath, 57, 67, 135
Tagore, Maharshi Debendra Nath, 67-8, 147
Tagore, Rabindra Nath, 162-64, 201, 282, 393
Takahashi, H. K., 129-30
Tanveer, Habib, 248
Tarn, 188
Tata, 129-30
Tendulkar, Vijay, 247
Terrorists, 119-21
Thackeray, 87
Thapar, Romesh, 388
Theo-Mercantile
—Why did all Theo-Mercantile Civilizations not evolve to the Rational Mercantile ? 32-4
Thomas, St., 19
Thompson, E. J., 195, 198, 199
Thoreau, 165
Thrupp, Sylvia, 376
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, 116-18, 189, 223
Tolstoy, 165
Topi, Tantia, 108
Towns, Intermediate, 389
Toye, Hugh, 121
Transformation
—Science and Technology, 377-78
—Economics, 378-382
—Political and Administrative, 383-390
—Social, 390-92
—Cultural and Ideological, 393-95
—Religious, 396-401
Trevelyan, Charles, 73
Tripathi, Govardhan Ram, 221
Trivedi, Ramendra Sundar, 130, 393
Turgot, 32, 181, 359

U.

*Udichya,* 286-290
Unitary Church of Ram Mohan Roy, 64
Urdu, claim to be medium of higher education, 74

V.

Vaidya, Jalabala, 248
Vallathol, 232-234
Varma, A. R. Rajaraja, 231
Varma, Bhagavati Charan, 212-13
Varma, Ravi, 244
Varma, Vrindavan Lal, 109
Vassiliev, M., 371
*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*—the whole world is kin, 395
Vedantism, Scientific (*Vaigyanik*), 400
Vidyasagar, Ishwar Chandra, 79-71, 272
Viking, Navigational improvements, 13-14
—Piratical towns, 13
—Legacy of armed merchant towns, 15
Vireshalingam, Pantulu, 226
Visvesvarayya, M., 141
Vivekananda, 64, 151-53, 282, 393, 399-400, 410
Voltaire, 81, 181

W.

Wadia, Madame Sophia, 243
Wadud, Kazi Abdul, 205
Ward, Barbara, 91
Warerkar, B. V. ("Mama"), 224-25
Wellesley, 51-2
Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of Wellington, 49
Wells, H. G., 369
Wheeler, J. Talboys, 186
White superiority doctrine, 36-7
Wiener, A. J., 371
Wilkins, Charles, 82
Wilson, H. H., 72, 84-5, 183
Wilson, James, 125, 262
Wilson, John, 63

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai



Wolf, Eric R, 376
Women's Liberation, 369, 372-74, 390
World, of Tomorrow, 368-376
World Projects Authority, 382
X.
Xavier, St. Francis, 12, 23
Y.
Yashpal, 213
Z.
Zaidi, Begum Qudsia, 248
Zakaullah, 149, 191
*Zamindari* system, 56
Zaydan, Jurji, 257
*Zenana*, 61
Zoffany, 86, 246

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai